

Post-European Central Polynesian Head Masks and Puppet-Marionette Heads

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THIS STUDY concerns two central Polynesian manipulable heads (one a marionette, the other a puppet) carved from coconut logs, and from the same region, several full head masks—three carved from coconut logs and an undetermined number made with a tapa-covered, light wooden framework. These masks and heads are, I believe, post-European in form and use but developed in a matrix that creatively united pre-European with post-European elements. To be discussed are stimuli that led to these artifacts being both produced and used in Mangareva and the Cook Islands (Aitutaki and Mangaia in particular), and used in the Tuamotus. To be described, also, are the structure and use of the head masks in theatrical performances based on mythological themes, and the structure and probable operation of the two heads.

Perhaps persons who have seen these heads and masks in performances or know about them will supplement data compiled here on their history, structure, and function. The Aitutaki puppet head in the Auckland Museum was collected in 1899. The marionette head, used in Mangaia around 1929, may still be there. Two Mangarevan-made, coconut-log head masks were collected after performances; one, obtained in the Tuamotus in 1912, is in the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (formerly called Papeete Museum); the other, collected in Mangareva in 1956, is in the Kon-Tiki Museum, Oslo. The Otago Museum obtained a two-faced coconut-log head mask from Mangaia in 1921. Tapa-covered head masks from Mangaia and its neighbors have come into museums from the late 19th century into the middle of the 20th. My inventory of tapa masks is incomplete as my research, originally begun on the manipulable heads, did not extend to either pre-European or post-European masks until it became evident that the heads resembled the log head

masks and that at least a cursory survey of Polynesian masks of other materials was desirable.

Collectors have seldom learned whom a manipulable head or mask represents, or if it is identified with one character and one role, or with many; in the latter case the dramatist's range of creative situations would have increased. More information is needed on spectators' reactions and how they were expressed. Specific data are needed about who made the artifact, where, and when, for the island of use is not necessarily the island of origin.

Unfortunately, despite the rarity of Polynesian masks and manipulable figures, collectors and observers have regarded them as having scant ethnographical value because their structure incorporates non-Polynesian elements. Research has focused on artifacts judged to have been part of pre-European culture. Tapa-covered head masks have received some attention because of the indigenous tapa and the uncertainty as to whether such masks were made before European contact.

An old and basic stimulus for post-European Polynesian development of masks, puppets, and marionettes comes from indigenous theatrical art and creativity. However, what is known of central Polynesian theatre consists mostly of accounts for the 18th century by explorers like Captain Cook and others on the Society Islands (see summary by Oliver 1974: I, 339-343), for the middle and late 19th century by the Reverend W. W. Gill especially on Mangaia (1876), and for the 20th century by A.-C. E. Caillot (1914) on the Tuamotus and by Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) on Aitutaki and Mangareva (1927, 1938*a*, 1938*b*).

Ethnographers, journalists, and travel writers reveal that Polynesian theatre is still vital in island life, that European contact has not wiped it out. Yet few serious and systematic descriptions of modern Polynesian theatre exist. Too often they are ethnocentric, superficial, and humorously denigrating of plots, presentations, and props that combine old and new, native and foreign elements. As was formerly the case, the varied repertoire, comparable to vaudeville, includes, in addition to exhibitions of sports and games, prose plays and skits with few or no interspersed chants and dances, as well as songs and dances with some threaded together by a story line.

Is the term "theatre" applicable in Polynesian culture? The answer is yes, for even in pre-European performances, as interpretable from journals of the first 18th century European visitors, the three essentials of theatre—performers, audience, and performance—were clearly identifiable and well established. "The theatrical situation, reduced to a minimum, is that A impersonates B while C looks on," according to E. Bentley (quoted by Cameron and Hoffman 1969: 3). In the present, as in the past, Polynesian theatre as a social institution overlaps on occasion every aspect of culture—religion, mores, entertainment, aesthetics—and involves every member of society. It is a vehicle by which the entire theatrical crew and the audience communicate meanings to each other.

In both eras Polynesians have taken into account, and sometimes consciously formulated, the nature of theatrical elements, conventions, and principles that relate to the status of persons involved whether as A, B, or C; repertoire; time and frequency of performance; place; plane of operation (stage above, below, or level with audience); visibility or nonvisibility of stagehands and directors; actors who were animate (human or animal) or inanimate (moving images; and later, puppets

and marionettes); lighting (daylight, moonlight, torches); costumes (later, coconut-log or tapa-covered head masks); and stage props.

Today theatre in the sense of a public structure or open place for performances attended by audiences still includes community assembly houses, plazas, and large houses of chiefs, and formerly young people's entertainment houses; maraes (temple compounds with buildings and courtyards); special open-fronted houses with stone-curbed stage areas along which spectators sat or stood; and even platforms of large double canoes where actors performed and important spectators gathered while many watched from the shore.

Polynesian society also had professional, semiprofessional, and amateur performers, directors, composers, and stagehands. However, archipelagoes differed as to the degree of professionalism and organization. To be mentioned are only the central Polynesian islands relevant to this study. The Arioi Society of the Society Islands marked the peak of the entire Polynesian culture area in its organization and control of the male and female performers who were its initiated members. It was an exclusive, highly privileged, and hierarchical sect made up of many "lodges" dedicated to the god 'Oro and the spread of his worship. It had eight ranks, each with distinctive costume (no masks reported) and tattooing. Members of the highest ranks were usually appointed by the king but the lower ranks, which had the more active performers, were open, with merit sometimes leading to promotion. Additionally, roustabouts and what the Western world now calls "groupies" tagged along as unofficial companions and aids to the members, most of whom were men. No formal compensation of Ariois is reported but each lodge accumulated enough property to exchange gifts with its host, a chief who also provided hospitality for those who entertained the people in his district at religious and secular affairs. Members supplemented supplies by raids on residents who were powerless to resist. (For further information see summary by Oliver 1974: I, 913-964.) In general, Tahitians, it seems, compensated expert male and female performers in dramas and dances with both praise and tangible goods (Oliver 1974: I, 343).

Mangareva formerly had a professional class of scholars of noble birth who served priests as chanters in religious ceremonies, and established accepted versions of genealogies, history, myths, and other oral records. This class also advised directors and composers of popular shows on their adaptations of scholarly and sacred themes, and employed them and their troupes as assistants in religious chanting. In mission times the scholarship of the nobles was repressed and died out, but the higher learning has been partly preserved in the secular composers' adaptations (Buck 1938a: 304-306, 384).

Mangarevan professionalism still survived in 1934 as Buck (1935: 59-61) discovered. Until he had learned more about local social organization he thought that Karara, an elderly woman who was "the best authority on traditional history, folklore, and songs" and the outstanding *pou-kapa*, composer-director of *kapa*, a type of secular chant and dance relating to classical topics, had "an exaggerated idea of the financial value of her services" as his prospective informant. He then sought free information from others, for never before had he been expected to pay Polynesian informants directly. However, he soon learned that anciently Mangarevan professional storytellers, directors, actors, and singers had been formally compensated and had also received gifts. Buck concluded, "The commercial attitude of

Karara was thus an echo from her own culture which experience with visitors had merely served to exaggerate, not initiate." He thereupon made suitable arrangements to pay for her knowledge. She provided approximately 130 songs and much other information; when Buck's fieldwork ended she had not exhausted her extraordinary store of knowledge.

On the same Bishop Museum Expedition, J. Frank Stimson (1935: 66) and Kenneth Emory experienced Tuamotuan theatrical professionalism in Tatakoto Island. They were told that "the local dancers and play-actors . . . would give their dance and would put on the play of Te Uru—"The woman who visited the nether-world"—for a price." This unexpected commercial attitude was the result, Stimson thought, of rumors that the Museum "was making a fortune out of cinema reels taken at Vahitahi in 1930." However, the frequent association of Tuamotuans and Mangarevans in putting on plays and variety shows when they gathered at pearl-diving islands or celebrations of Bastille Day may, I suggest, have influenced the Tatakoto request. At any rate, after a public debate, Tatakoto performers agreed to perform their plays and dances free for the Expedition. Earlier in the summer at Vahitahi, where Stimson had encouraged the revival of ancient dances and theatrical plays, he had seen residents rehearse one of their plays, that concerning a Polynesian voyage and the disenchantment-ritual of Rua, a maleficent god. On Rua see Emory (1947: 83, 95-96).

In Mangaia, Gill's numerous references to the theatrical tradition make it appear to have been unusually brilliant. Arriving in Mangaia in 1852, Gill spent some 33 years there and in neighboring islands, and travelled widely beyond the Cook Group. In 1876 he wrote that on Mangaia "under the rule of the Mautara tribe . . . the poetical faculty . . . was most highly cultivated; *i.e.* during the past 150 years of their history"; and new styles of songs were created "when the art of song-making became a national passion" (1876: 87). The general term for entertainments, '*eva*', included such diverse activities as—to name but a few—dance fetes, reed-throwing matches, dramas, different types of dirges, and "death-talks." Chanting and instruments accompanied them. Subjects encompassed traditional and historical events (Captain Cook's visit in 1777 was one) as well as folktales and myths. Only women enacted certain dramas while men watched; only men did others; still others included male and female performers. Memorial services for an elderly, high-ranking person inspired well-to-do relatives to sponsor feasts and '*eva* programs lasting from ten to fifteen days. If the community sponsored a "death-talk" memorial, sixty songs were required, with each adult man contributing one that he or a more talented poet had composed. A "death-talk" was held at night in a large, special, torch-lighted house; a "dirge proper" was held by day; while moonlight was the time for many dance fetes (Gill 1876: 269-273, 256, n.1; 1880: 251-257).

The pre-European existence of theatre as a social institution stimulated post-European central Polynesians to foster the use, although limited, of head masks, manipulable figures, and moving images. Skill and enthusiasm in putting on or watching performances have survived from pre-European times into the present. Inspiration for themes in the repertoire has extended beyond the orally transmitted myths and lore about past events to include the Bible, Shakespeare, historical events, and other modern sources. Emory has more than once remarked to me on the

pleasure central Polynesians have taken in plays, which he has attended, based on this new material. Still to be studied are how directors have adapted foreign sources to combine traditional and European dramatic conventions and stage props.

Holidays like Christmas and Bastille Day and visits by officials and other foreign and native travellers replace as motivation the life crises and seasonal events that formerly galvanized an island to create a program of plays, skits, and variety acts for either religious or secular purposes, or both. In central Polynesia, French Oceania is very active because two modern annual events assemble performers and spectators from several archipelagoes.

First is the celebration in Papeete of the holiday on July 14, when troupes from many islands compete in performing, perhaps, what has previously won acclaim in local Bastille Day celebrations. Sometime before 1956, when the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition saw it repeated in Mangareva, a Mangarevan troupe of dancers, presumably using the coconut-log head mask then as in 1956, had won first place in Tahiti for its performance (Ferdon 1966: 147). In a 1935 Bastille Day celebration in Mangareva, Buck (1938a: 396) had, as I shall discuss later, seen a similar performance although he did not mention the use of a mask. Caillot (1914: 93-100) described a five-act Tuamotuan play he saw in 1912 in which the leading actor wore a Mangarevan-made log head mask. The play was repeated each season at the Tuamotuan atoll officially opened for pearl-diving. By 1949-1950, drinking and gambling, it seems, had replaced drama as the principal recreation (Danielsson 1952: 217-239, 236).

A subject for future research is the history and influence of Bastille Day and pearl-diving gatherings, as well as other special events, in keeping central Polynesian theatrical tradition alive and creatively adaptable to a changing society.

Besides the strong theatrical tradition, another stimulus to modern central Polynesian development of manipulable heads and masks was probably knowledge about them that islanders gained during their increased travel on foreign vessels to other parts of the Pacific and beyond, and association at home with visitors and refugees from other islands, Eurasia, and America. Receptivity to new ideas of theatrics for secular performances was perhaps broadened by familiarity with pre-European masking in Tahiti, Mangareva, and Hawaii, the only Polynesians known to have had it.

Before discussing Polynesian masks of the pre-European and post-European eras, I shall describe two major types of masks, the head mask and the face mask, relevant to this study. A head mask, also called a full head mask, covers the wearer's entire head. Especially if heavy, like a log mask, it rests on his shoulders. If light, like most tapa-covered masks, it may be shaped and fitted to hold in place on or above his forehead and hang free below; heavier ones rest on his shoulders.

Matthew Baranski's remark (1959: 85) that the wearer of a head mask becomes in effect a human marionette is too broad a statement, I think, because unlike a marionette the masked person requires no operator to pull strings or rods to enable him to act. Instead he must manipulate himself to perform artistically, safely, and reasonably comfortably for the duration of his performance. The form and materials of his mask must therefore meet certain requirements with the relative importance of each dependent on his role and his cultural masking traditions. Baranski's requirements (1959: 85) for making a head mask for a Western performance, while

fairly applicable to what the Polynesian mask-maker recognized, would be alien, I find, in some respects to a Melanesian or a craftsman in certain other societies (Kaepler 1963; Kurath 1950). My account of requirements allows for cultural diversity.

A head mask must permit the wearer to breathe, to see, and to hear (and be heard) well enough to perform his role. It must be sized at some points to fit and to be tolerably enduring for as long as a role requires. In weight and durability it should be neither too heavy for the wearer to play his role nor too fragile to last out the performance. Depending on the actor's role it must be easy to put on and to remove, yet stay anchored in place so that openings will not shift too much when the actor moves his head from side to side, or up and down, or he dances and engages in other brisk activity. If it is traditional to use it more than once its enduring qualities must be kept in mind, as well as ways to clean, renovate, and store it. Its acoustic properties may be another consideration (one on which I find nothing reported for Polynesian masks). Is it a sounding board to project sound or does it deter it?

A face mask, unlike a head mask, covers only the front of the wearer's head and face or merely his face or his eyes. He fixes it in place with one or more cords or bands fastened around his head or over his ears, or has it attached to a rod which he raises to shield his face or eyes as needed. If he lives in New Britain his teeth grip a stick inside his mask to hold it on (Kaepler 1963: 128).

Did pre-European Tahitians and Mangarevans have head masks or face masks? The answer is difficult. The Mangarevan is known only from a brief, ambiguous description; the Tahitian, although familiar from museum specimens and descriptions, is complex. The Hawaiian mask, known only from two drawings, is a head mask if one concedes that it is indeed a mask.

In Mangareva, Tiripone, a convert of the Roman Catholic priest Laval who landed on the island in 1834, described a traditional prenatal ceremony for a princess in which at dawn the officiating priest, calling on the gods, beginning with Tahiri, "took his cloth hat off his head, and, piercing two holes through it, he placed it over his eyes." Then standing alone he began the burning chant to the hibiscus-wood fire, and the seated chorus joined in. Buck (1938a: 109), in translating the Mangarevan text, overlooked the significance of the priest's masking himself. The "hat" was doubtless a turban of strips of tapa (rare on Mangareva) such as a man wore for feasts and war (Buck 1938a: 171). Did the priest merely tie the perforated strip around his head as a face mask? Or did he rewind his turban to make a head mask with the perforated strip falling over his eyes and some of the rest falling over the back of his head? One can only guess. That pre-European Mangareva had the concept of masking, if in very elementary form, is interesting since Mangarevans made two of the three modern coconut-log head masks now in museums (the third is Mangaian).

The pre-European Tahitian facial shield, which was attached to a closely fitting "cloth" (tapa or matting) cap, consisted of "two large round mother-of-pearl shells, covering the face like a mask, with one small aperture through which the wearer could look" (Ellis 1853: I, 412). While usually called a face mask, the *parae*, that is, the two joined shells with the aperture, was invariably part of such an elaborate, ritually produced headdress (parts of which sometimes fell over the back and upper chest) that the term full head mask seems more accurate. However, to Tahitians

the *parae*, one of eleven components of a total costume each of which they named, was apparently its most significant part since they occasionally applied the term *parae* to the entire costume or to certain combinations of components of the headdress (Rose 1971: 1413). In 1775, Rodriguez, who joined a party led by a chief to look for pearl shells for a *parae*, called it "a very intricate shell mask" and "a chattel much valued among them," with each shell worth a hog in exchange (Corney 1919: III, 205).

The costume of which the *parae* was a component completely disguised the wearer, who was the chief mourner, male or female, or a surrogate (a special priest or an actor), for a distinguished dead person. The disguised person may have represented the *tupapa'u* (ghost, specter, corpse, "spirit") of the deceased in this *heva tupapa'u*, ghost masque or ceremony, in order to avenge real or fancied slights before or after the person's death. The chief mourner led a procession of men and boys painted red, black, and white to attack and terrorize any people they met except Ariois who were immune (Ellis 1853: I, 412-414; Henry 1928: 293-294; Oliver 1974: I, 502-507; II, 929). It is interesting that the modern Mangaian coconut-log head mask, to be discussed later, is labelled *Katu Tupapahu* which I translate as Very Important Lord Ghost; nothing is reported of its use in an '*eva* (*heva*), that is, a structured social event, secular or sacred, entertaining or serious.

Rose (1971: 1408-1447), in a detailed study of the mourner's costume from descriptions and museum specimens, located sixteen complete examples of *parae* (I use the term in its primary Tahitian meaning). Much alike in construction, they differ in size, placement of aperture, and combination of highly polished and trimmed shells. Eleven used two of mother-of-pearl, five combined black *Pinna* with black-tipped pearl oyster. Nine of ten had the viewing hole in front of the wearer's right eye, one in the frontlet above the *parae*. Only one had the aperture in the black which was on the wearer's right. On three combining white and black valves, the black was twice on the wearer's right, once on the left.

The *parae* in the Peabody Museum, Salem (E5277), illustrates the contrast between the laboriously produced Tahitian *parae* and the hastily fashioned Mangarevan tapa mask. This *parae* has black and white valves worked to almost identical size—5 to 6 mm thick, 150 mm deep, with the *Pinna* valve 165 mm wide, the white 5 mm wider. Cut flat across the anterior and the hinge removed, each valve is joined end to end by three-ply braided sennit threaded through two or three matching holes in the center margins. The aperture, drilled in the black near its center anterior margin, has stiff cord or '*ie'ie* vine (*Freycinetia* sp.) seized with three-ply sennit braid threaded over and under the outer margins through twenty-eight tapered holes. Two loops of similar material are attached to and across this reinforcement.

If the cap-shaped or conical matting or tapa headdress were not missing, these loops would have been attached to it. The loops, I conjecture, were tied together at the back of the cap or joined there by a knotted cord. If single cords ever extended from the *parae* outer margins would they, I wonder, have been threaded in and out of the material of the cap to secure the *parae* better?

When the *parae* is still part of the headdress in museum specimens, the cap (itself consisting of several layers) sometimes has pieces of tapa pasted to it to cover ears, mouth, and shoulders. (This use of tapa, incidentally, led to a certain feather

headress being identified as Tahitian because tapa hanging from the rim covered the lower part of the wearer's face, but Buck [1944: 101-102] suggested the provenience as Cook Islands because of the technique of the conical cap and wooden framework, and as specifically Rarotonga because of the tapa design.)

Some Tahitian mourners' headdresses have a frontlet lashed to the upper margins of the *parae* and a so-called breastplate attached to the lower. The frontlet is composed of trimmed and polished bits of shells or whole valves and topped with a spray of red-tipped tail feathers of tropic birds. The breastplate, which covered not just the wearer's upper chest but mouth and throat as well, consists of a thin, crescentic board to which are fastened various types of decoration, most conspicuously pieces of shells or whole valves. *Parae* and breastplate are joined by sennit cord passing through matching holes at the lower margins of the *parae* and the upper margins of those valves that tip each end of the board. The breastplate even when not lashed to the *parae* covered mouth, throat, and chest; sennit cords threaded through the shell valves on the board were tied at the back of the cap. When *parae* and breastplate were joined, presumably such cords might be added to help support the weight, but the point is not clear to me. Despite the *parae* being ritually made no information exists as to the rites and the craftsmen—or crafts-women.

Obviously, indigenous Tahitian culture had the concept of masking expressed in a highly developed and original form as part of the chief mourner's total disguise. With one exception, no writers mention other masks even for Ariois and other entertainers. The exception is Boenechea's vague reference in 1772, after a brief visit, that Tahitian women made "... a number of grotesque masks of plaited grass, that are sometimes worn" (Corney 1913: I, 334).

Tahitian use of pearl shell for masking recalls that in war-torn Mangaia a refugee once hid in water offshore with a pearl shell raised to conceal his face and head while pursuers patrolled the shore; another refugee returning from fishing had "his face well hidden with native cloth" (Gill 1894: 293).

Pre-European rarity of masks in Polynesia makes it desirable to describe the Hawaiian. They are known only from John Webber's two illustrations made on Captain Cook's third expedition that led to the archipelago becoming known to the Western world. The masks were round gourds encasing the head to about the lower lip or chin. Webber's watercolor (Murray-Oliver 1975: Plates 27, 28) depicts ten masked men in a small double canoe; nine are paddlers, each with his square tapa shawl looped scarflike around his neck to free his arms. Sitting slightly above them, the tenth man, whose tapa passes under his right arm and knots on his left shoulder, cradles in his left arm a black torso-length image with shining white eyes and teeth. The front of each gourd is carved out in an oval around the face from eyebrows to the upper lip with a narrow border of gourd below it. Faces of three of the men are partially concealed by eight tapa strips hanging vertically down inside the oval and mixing with strips that every gourd has threaded through holes in the lower frontal border and falling to the chest.

Webber's second sketch (Murray-Oliver 1975: Plates 29, 30), a pen drawing of a man's torso and gourd-encased head, shows a different frontal opening. The gourd has been carved to curve over the top of each eye with a rectangular spur down to the nasion and to curve under each cheek up to a rectangle under the nostrils.

Perhaps the spurs secured the gourd in place as did perhaps the balance given each of the eleven masks by fresh green foliage, each twig in a separate hole, set slightly back from the top like a crest.

Journals of Cook's expedition mention neither these gourd headpieces nor their wearers. Consequently three theories have been advanced, two of them that the gourds are not masks. Who originally advanced each theory I do not know. Lommel (1972: 57) regarded the gourds as sun helmets, and popular opinion in Honolulu in the 1970s is that they were war helmets. A local cartoon series characterizes Hawaiian warriors by these gourd headpieces, and in the spring of 1977 during a native Hawaiian political protest a few of the men at the rally wore gourdlike headpieces. The theory that the men depicted by Webber were masked priests of the god Lono (with whom Cook was identified) on their way to participate in Makahiki rites is supported by the gourd's being one of Lono's most prominent embodiments (*kino lau*); by the period when Webber portrayed the men being the rainy season when the annual Makahiki celebrations and ceremonies were held to honor the return of Lono, god of fertility, rain, health, and the like; and by the presence of the image of a god in the canoe. That the headpieces were not war helmets is evident from the fact that war was taboo during the Makahiki, which lasted from about mid-October to mid-January, to celebrate the harvest season with religious ceremonies, sports, and entertainments, as well as to collect and redistribute what had been produced. That the gourds were more than obvious symbols of Lono and were masks, however elementary, representing him is evident, I think, from the tapa strips inside three of the gourds. For a brief summary of Hawaiian domestic and national rites and beliefs associated with Lono and their relation to those elsewhere in Polynesia, see Beckwith (1940: 31-41).

Since Hawaiian, Tahitian, and Mangarevan masks differed completely in form and principal material, no inter-archipelago influence is evident. In Mangareva and Hawaii they were, so far as is known, worn only by men; in Tahiti by either sex. In Mangareva and Tahiti they were worn for a religious purpose, and conjecturally so in Hawaii. No island had masks with painted, incised, or cut-out ornamental designs; all openings were functional. No theriomorphic elements occur; the masked person was always human or superhuman in appearance, but no masks had human-oid faces painted on them.

Masks, Buck surmised (1944: 506), were relatively late and scattered inventions in pre-European culture with the Hawaiian "evidently a late sporadic invention for they are not known outside of Webber's drawing." Buck felt "sure" that "long after the later Polynesian culture spread to the other parts of Polynesia" the pearl shell mask and related costume had developed in the Society Islands and had not diffused, as W. H. R. Rivers theorized, from Melanesia as part of a cultural complex associated with secret societies. Unlike a Melanesian mask, Buck added, the Tahitian had no face delineated on it and was part of a mourner's costume of which no component had "any affinity in form or technique with anything in Melanesia."

Claims that pre-European Easter Island culture had masks and that once a band of masked hoodlums, calling themselves gods and speaking in godlike voices, seized and held islanders' possessions until caught bathing and speaking in normal tones were dismissed by Métraux (1940: 139-140, 265) as his informant's interpretations based on many years residence in Chile where he had seen masquerades.

In an older version of the story, Métraux noted, the hoodlums were disguised by paint, not masks, and were detected while washing off the paint; the later version retains the element of bathing without explanation of its significance. The question of whether the pre-European culture had masks has been reopened by Barthel (1962: 653–661) as the result of memory culture he elicited during fieldwork in 1957 and 1958. Informants claimed that the island formerly had anthropomorphic and zoomorphic half masks that left the lower part of the face uncovered for the wearer to thrust out his painted tongue, and head masks. The materials, polychromatically painted tapa over bulrushes, distinguished them from modern painted paper masks that wearers tied on and that in great measure, except for the occasional use of older bird motifs, go back to Chilean and Tahitian models. I feel unable at present to evaluate the informants' claims and Barthel's interpretations about the existence of Easter Island masks in pre-European times.

Usually Hawaii, Tahiti, and Mangaia, but not Mangareva, are said to have had masks in pre-European times. However, to Buck (1944: 506) the Mangaian tapa-covered head masks were "of recent local origin, perhaps post-European." He did not mention Baessler's theory (1900a: 32–34, 1900b: 257–260) that contact of modern Cook Islanders with Papuan mask-makers accounted for their origin. Buck's awareness of modern New Guinea influence in Mangaia is evident from a snapshot (Bishop Museum negative no. 15686) he took of a Mangaian festival in 1930 in which he called attention to a "guest with a New Guinea drum."

Baessler, so far as I know, was the first to collect and describe the tapa-covered head masks. His material establishes a minimum date for this type until other evidence emerges such as earlier dates of collection and museum accession. Around 1899 (the same year that the Auckland Museum got its coconut-log puppet head), Baessler obtained four tapa-covered head masks, called *pare tareka*, headdress (for a) festival, in Aitutaki and Rarotonga, but perhaps made in Mangaia. Usually this type is identified only with Mangaia. That this island had masks, unfortunately not described, at least two decades before Baessler's visit to the Cook Islands is documented, for in 1876 Gill mentioned masked men acting in a Mangaian festival.

Gill first quoted, in Mangaian with English translation, two chants (the finale of "Maaki's Fete") that hailed the morning star and the arrival of the god Tane's birds to warn of the approach of dawn when the festival must end (and gods leave). Then he added (1876: 50), "Six men in masks represented the warning birds. As incarnations of Tane they come from the 'sunrising.' The 'brilliant right eye' of Tane is Venus." That is all, it appears, that Gill ever wrote about masks despite his three decades on the island and its neighbors and his voluminous writings about them. Except for Barthel's recent reference to Easter Island zoomorphic masks, only anthropomorphic masks have been reported from Polynesia. One wonders if the Mangaian actors wore bird-headed masks with the long, curved, dangerous bills mentioned in the chants and if they had appendages on their arms to simulate "flapping wings." While the description of the bills suggests frigate birds the Mangaian text gives only the general term for birds, *manu*. That they might have worn "wings" is suggested by a Mangaian folktale (Gill 1876: 114) that tells of Tane himself making wings, each clam-shaped and plaited from a coconut frond, and attaching them to his arms, in order to fly to Avaiki to escape from his jealous wife in Enuakura.

That the two chants were composed in 1820 is no proof that in the premiere dancers wore masks; they may have been added in later years when the same *kapa*, which in Mangaia is a type of song about gods and the experiences of men after death (Gill 1894: 7), were used. Whether Maaki, the person honored in 1820 (or later), was dead or alive at the time is not stated. Gill doubtless obtained the date of composition and the composers' names from Davida, a convert who had arrived in 1823, or from Mangaians knowledgeable about drama of the years before Gill's arrival.

Masking, according to Baessler (1900a: 32-34; 1900b: 256-260), was unknown in the Cook Islands until introduced into festivals by local men, backsliders in the Christian faith, who had been sent home from British New Guinea where, instead of converting Papuan heathens as they had been taught at mission schools at Avarua, Rarotonga, and Oneroa, Mangaia, had adopted Papuan practices. Masking observed in Papua was one of the customs they brought back. Baessler gave neither dates nor sources for his information. Of men and women sent to western Pacific missions, Gill (1894: 9, 355, 359-360) reported that between 1872 and 1891 three men and women had returned from New Guinea to the Cook Islands (reasons not stated) and later "several others" were "called home." Many remained but Peruvian blackbirders, Papuan murderers, and fever took several lives. The British missionaries sent many couples from the Cook Islands to British New Guinea, the Loyalties, New Hebrides, and Samoa.

Undoubtedly Cook Islanders were exposed to many modern alien influences abroad and at home during the 19th century. Ideas of masking and manipulable figures may well have come from western Pacific indigenes or from Papuan or Cook Islands residents and visitors originating in Europe, Asia, and offshore Asian islands where masks and manipulable figures had long been part of the cultures. While Cook Islanders may have acquired foreign masks as models, it is more likely that the stimulus of seeing them in use led them to create masks incorporating elements of their traditional culture. Future investigators may establish what direct influence, if any, western Pacific masks had on central Polynesian masks, whether of tapa or log.

The two masks that Baessler had acquired (*erworbene*) on Rarotonga reminded him even more of New Guinea masks than the two which came from (*stammen von*) Mangaia. The Rarotongan masks being, at the time he wrote, on the way to Berlin, he could not describe or sketch them. What became of them I do not know; the other two masks he gave to what is now called the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin (VI 22185, VI 22186). Contrary to his published statement of their origin, his label on the specimens gives their provenience, not as Mangaia, but as "Waipai (Aitutaki)," according to Gerd Koch's letter to me of 15 February 1973. Waipae (Waipai) is the name of a district and a village in eastern Aitutaki. Either the two masks were made in Mangaia and Baessler got them in Aitutaki or vice versa. At any rate they are, it seems, the first to go into museums, a fact somewhat suggestive of the late modern origin of the type. For additional information about these two head masks and about six other masks, all from Mangaia, I owe thanks to G. Koch of the Berlin Museum, R. Neich of the National Museum, Wellington, and A. Kaeppler, Bishop Museum. The six masks are National Museum FE 2323, FE 626 (Plate 1a), FE 2451 "attributed to Mangaia," FE 2321, and "FE 2321?"; and

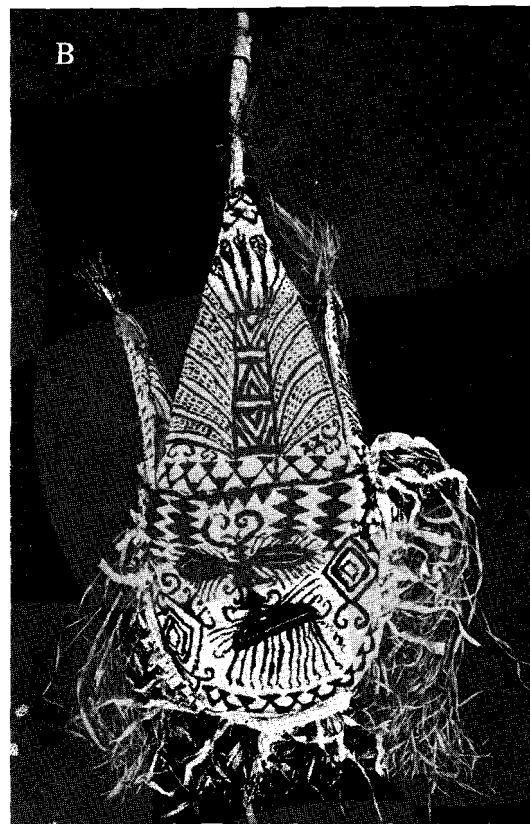


Plate I Head masks from Mangaia: *a*, wooden framework covered with tapa (National Museum, Wellington, New Zealand, no. FE 626); *b*, wooden framework covered with tapa (Bishop Museum no. 6038); *c*, Mangaian man wearing a conical mask at the New Zealand International Exposition at Christchurch 1906–1907 (photograph from R. Neich).



Plate II *a*, Mangarevan-made mask in the Musée de Tahiti et des Îles (no. 154), picture from Caillot (1914); *b*, same mask now much deteriorated (photograph from Lavondes).

Bishop Museum 6038. Kooijman (1972: 69, Fig. 48*a, b*) has a photograph of FE 2323. Otago Museum has none, and the Oldman Collection, I am told, appears to have none.

Of these eight conical head masks, all but one are constructed on a wooden framework covered with tapa. The exception (Berlin VI 22185) was made by rolling brown "cloth" sheathing, *Blattscheidengewebe*, from the base of coconut fronds into a simple cone, 67 cm around the base and 84 cm high, which was stitched with hibiscus-bast fiber. The stiff "cloth" required no supporting frame. A humanoid face painted in black has holes cut out for eyes and mouth but no ornamental appendages of any kind (Baessler 1900*a*: 32, Fig. 2; 33).

The most detailed description published of any central Polynesian tapa-covered head mask was by Buck (1944: 102–103) for no. 6038, which Bishop Museum received in 1903 (Plate 1*b*). The ends of a 24-mm-wide, split-bamboo stick are tied into a hoop, about 185 mm inside diameter. Fastened to it are six evenly spaced bamboo sticks, each about 9 mm wide and 535 mm long. About 340 mm above the hoop the six are tied to form a cone; the remaining projecting ends are joined to make a single, tapa-covered rod tipped with a hibiscus-bast tuft. Attached at each side of the hoop is a curved, downward-extending rod, about 190 mm deep in the middle line, to make a frame for the tapa covering the wearer's face. The entire cone is covered with tapa, cut, shaped, and stitched with bast to the hoop and down the middle of the back. The painted humanoid face has elliptical holes cut for eyes and mouth, the latter skewed to the wearer's right. A variety of coarsely painted black motifs covers the entire tapa cone. Three types of appendages besides the tuft on the apex are (a) whiskers and beard—a continuous strip of double-fringed bast, one 180 mm long, the other 50 mm, stitched around the face up to a painted "crown"; (b) hair—several bast strips, 380 mm long, closely looped over a supporting strip and stitched around the back; (c) a long, flat, narrow, tapa-covered triangular bamboo flange, tipped with a hibiscus-bast tuft and attached on each side of the crownlike design well above the eyes and not, as Buck stated, in the position of ears. From the front this conical mask appears triangular. A second shape, less common and unreported from any museum, appears rectangular and consists of two hoops, an upper and a lower, joined by bamboo strips.

The eight masks, ranging in height from 53.5 cm to over 100 cm, have frames of either split bamboo or cane, or the two combined, or of either bamboo or cane combined with unidentified wood. Each mask has a humanoid masculine face painted on the tapa covering, with functional cutouts for eyes, often elliptical, and mouth, often lopsided. Appendages usually include whiskers, beard, and hair simulated with bast; Baessler's tapa-covered specimen (1900*a*: 32, Fig. 1; Berlin VI 22186) has a tapa fringe for hair and horsehair for a beard, now missing, that hung well down the chest. Each mask generally has its apex tipped with one tuft or a series of tufts, occasionally of graduated size, of hibiscus bast or feathers, usually chicken. Over 100 cm high, National Museum FE 626 has three thick hibiscus fringes circling its cone; the longest is around the base, a shorter is above the face, and the shortest is around the top where the vertical sticks are joined to form the cone. Black and white chicken feathers thickly ornament the apex. Feathers, attached perhaps to a stick, which line each side of the face like whiskers, extend from the top of the lowest fringe to well above the second. Bishop Museum 6038,

it will be recalled, also has side flanges; and side flanges, variously set, appear on some of the painted Papuan tapa-covered conical head masks made on a cane framework (Kaeppler 1963: 123, 124).

The masks generally fit snugly at the forehead and hang free below. This is evident in a photograph, kindly sent me by R. Neich, of a Mangaian man at the New Zealand International Exposition at Christchurch in 1906–1907 (Plate 1c). His conical mask, having no beard to obscure the base, is shown hanging well above his shoulders and the neckline of his tapa poncho. According to Baessler (1900a: 33), his tapa-covered specimen, 79 cm high with a bottom circumference of 70 cm, rested on the wearer's shoulders. Maybe the horsehair beard was a factor. The unusual height and long, thick, lower fringe of National Museum FE 626 perhaps also required that it rest on the shoulders.

A conical wooden framework like that for a head mask was used in some of the Cook Islands, but not for certain in Mangaia, by men making elaborate feather headdresses at the time Europeans first visited these islands. Under the cone was a coir cap such as those worn by warriors—but not on Mangaia, where Captain Cook saw men whose headgear was white tapa wound around the head either like a turban or a high cone (Buck 1944: 90, Fig. 38; 92, Fig. 41; 97, Fig. 49; 103). The only feather headdresses on Mangaia, it seems, were those described in a tradition recorded by Gill (1894: 24–31) and relating to an early period after the island had been settled. Two war refugees, father and son, after making feather ponchos for warmth, then made two feather headdresses, both conical. When peace came and the son married he offered to let his bride wear a feather poncho; she refused but wore one of the headdresses. The two headpieces, Buck (1944: 103) speculated, were perhaps made on a conical framework like that for a mask. If, as I think, the tapa head masks were post-European in origin the craftsmen used the old type of frame for the new type of headpiece.

Indicative of post-European masking development and perhaps Melanesian influence is the humanoid face painted on every mask, a contrast to the featureless Tahitian, Hawaiian, and Mangarevan masks of the pre-European era. Paint also accents the eyes and mouth and depicts features such as nose, eyebrows, tattooing, and perhaps moustache. Almost every inch of the tapa cover, front and back, is decoratively painted with thick and thin, straight and curved, lines and sometimes nested boxes of rectangles and squares. The only painting on the coconut-cloth mask is of a face. To call the various painted lines meaningless, as Baessler does (1900a: 33), ignores the influence of old and new ideas in designs and the occasionally obvious attempt to organize the lines into larger units as part of a total pattern. Although each mask is uniquely painted, many designs, some of them named, are, I find, present in Cook Islands tattooing, wood carving, and tapa ponchos (Buck 1944: 131, Fig. 71; Kooijman 1972: 55–64). A black design based on the king in a deck of European playing cards appears on National Museum "FE 2321?" probably made for the Exposition, as was FE 2321 which uses blue paper for tassels sewn on at the ears.

Painters have used black alone or black with other colors. Baessler's two head masks illustrate the combination of old and new types of paint (1900a: 33). For the tapa-covered mask, yellow from wild ginger dyed the attached tapa fringe representing hair falling over shoulders and back; washing bluing made the blue

lines; a mission's *Farbentopf* (paintbox or inkpot) provided the red; and ordinary *Signifarbe* (writing ink?) the black. What inspired the yellow hair? Imitation of the Melanesian custom of bleaching the hair with lime? Representation of Tangaroa, who with his descendants are fair-haired in Mangaian mythology, or representation of a blonde European whom Mangaians classed as a descendant of Tangaroa (Gill 1876: 13)? One can only guess.

The great variety of designs painted on the masks, as well as cut out on the tapa ponchos worn with them, is evident in two posed photographs published by Buschan (n.d.: 20, Abb. 25; 21, Abb. 27) without identifying photographer or date. The first, according to his caption, shows the opening scene of an 'eva, dance, by "Rara Tonga" residents who, from time to time, he said, put on productions about deeds of heroes and demigods of old. The second, the closing scene, shows all with masks off and placed on top of their tall war spears. Both photographs show, in the front row, the female accompanist holding a small split-log drum but wearing no mask. In the first photograph, she holds a war spear in her right hand and cradles the drum in her left. The spear may belong to one of the performers crouched on each side of her; unlike the other actors they have removed their masks, perhaps at the photographer's request, and placed them on their laps or on the ground. Buck, who reprinted the first scene, labelled it "Mangaia: Men wearing ponchos and dance masks" (1944: Pl. 2B). Emory, who confirmed my opinion that the drummer was a woman, pointed out several other women among the unmasked dancers, recognizable, he said, by their long hair, for in Christianized communities men had short hair. Even though the masks seem always to depict a masculine face, they were worn by either men or women.

A perforation-ornamented, dark poncho, reserved perhaps in olden times for mourners, was adapted, when the dread associated with old taboos had declined, to become the modern festive tapa poncho worn with a head mask, according to Buck's conjecture (1944: 66; 432, Fig. 266d). Post-European Mangaian, Buck speculated, made the neckline round instead of slitting it longitudinally and fringed the sides and bottom. Perhaps the acquisition of foreign scissors encouraged the fringing. The dark poncho was selected for the new function rather than the intricately painted type of poncho because it was easily stained and its perforated designs readily cut. Expediency, it seems, dictated which old type of poncho was adapted for a modern festival garment. Calf-length or ankle-length, the modern poncho was sometimes wide enough to cover the arms, and with a mask the wearer was about as well disguised as a Tahitian chief mourner.

The perforated designs, like those painted on the masks, often recall traditional patterns. Whether the same person made the whole costume and not only painted but also cut the designs for it has not been reported; nor has the sex of the producer. When poncho and mask have been collected together, each has been studied independently of the other and not as a functional unit to determine, for example, whether both display similar designs. Much remains to be done on inventorying both ponchos and masks and studying them independently and together. Also, the dance costume has become so identified with Mangaia among students of the subject that, despite Buschan's and Baessler's comments, one does not know if other islands in the group ever made and wore them, or if Mangaia had a kind of copyright on both production and use.

In summary, the idea of conical or rectangular head masks, identified principally with Mangaia, developed, I suggest, after the mid-19th century in a Polynesian cultural matrix in which the concept of masking in pre-European times was overtly expressed in Tahiti and Mangareva and perhaps latent in the Cook Islands and other central and eastern Polynesian islands. Familiarity with alien mask-making peoples from the western Pacific and the Old World may have activated the latent idea as increased travel brought Cook Islanders in touch with foreign cultures.

If, as Baessler claimed, mission teachers from the Cook Islands brought home from the western Pacific the idea of masking for popular festivals, they soon modified it to create masks characteristically their own, with old and new decorative designs, paints, tools, and materials. Tapa headdresses, conical and turban (rectangular?) in shape, and the wooden framework for more elaborate headdresses were already present in some central Polynesian islands, and anthropomorphic faces sometimes appeared on images and other symbols of supernatural beings, but not on the Tahitian or Mangarevan masks. What characteristics the modern Mangaian masks share with the western Pacific remain to be studied but the depiction of a humanoid face on head masks is striking.

Stimulus diffusion was probably a more vital process than imitative copying of whatever Melanesian masks Cook Islanders brought home or recalled from memory. Composers, stage directors, and masters of ceremonies were galvanized to add new ideas to their old traditions and create costumes and performances for those secular purposes that European missionaries and administrators found acceptable or for those religious purposes that Christian converts and missionaries approved.

The three central Polynesian coconut-log masks are obviously head masks made in the post-European period. A summary of certain data and sources about them precedes my descriptions of them and their theatrical function.

1. No. 154, Musée de Tahiti et des Îles. This Mangarevan-made mask representing the Tuamotuan king of the sea, 'Tu-te-ponga-nui, was obtained by Caillot in Hikueru, Tuamotus, from an unidentified donor after Caillot saw it worn in a five-act play given in 1912 by pearl fishermen. Caillot gave the mask to the Musée des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes in Papeete; Frère Alain later gave it to the Papeete Museum. Caillot (1914: 93-100) published a fine photograph of the mask (Plate IIa), a general description of it, his observations about the play, the Tuamotuan director's stage directions and introduction, and the Tuamotuan-language script and a French translation; the same play was performed in different years at Takume, Raroia, Taenga, and sometimes even at Nihiru and Hikueru (Plate Ia). Lavondes and Natua (1966: 269-270) have published a detailed description of the mask, now much deteriorated (Plate IIb). Lavondes (personal communication, 27 August 1976) kindly sent me a recent photograph and additional data. Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold (1965: 158; Plate 55f) have published a different photograph and a few notes.

2. K-T2602, Kon-Tiki Museum. In April, 1956, after a Mangarevan dance-pantomime using it, the Norwegian Archaeological Expedition obtained this mask (made, I believe, in Mangareva) from its owner (the local administration) through Madame Abel (acting administrator) and an unidentified chief. Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold (1965: 157-159; Plate 55a-e) published photographs of the mask and



Plate III Double face mask from Mangaia in the Otago Museum (D21-46), Dunedin, New Zealand (photograph from G. S. Park, Otago Museum).

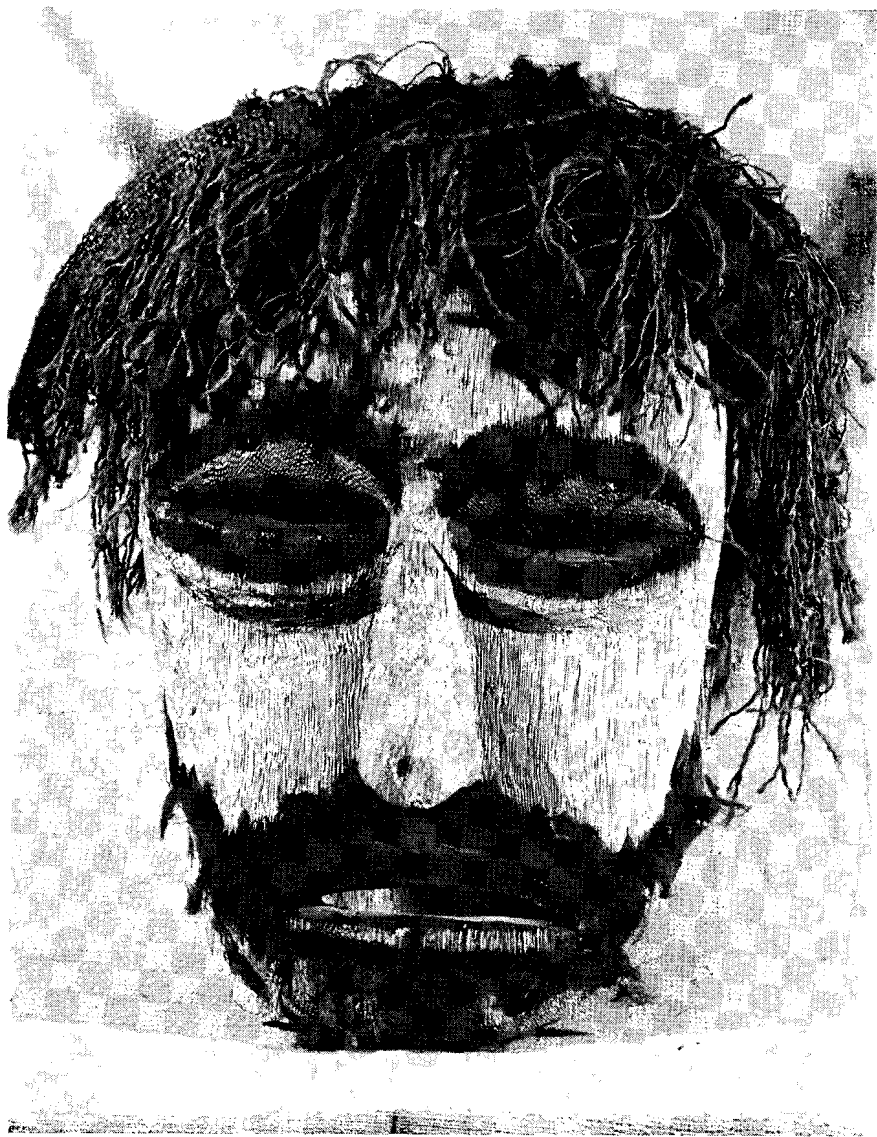


Plate IV One face of double face mask from Mangaia
(photograph from G. S. Park, Otago Museum).

the performance, a general account of the latter, and a detailed description of the mask. Ferdon (1966: 145-147), in a fuller account of the performance, mentioned that moving pictures and recordings were made. Local opinions differed as to whether the mask represented legendary King Tupa or an unidentified son of Tangaroa, the latter said to be king of the sea. Heyerdahl (1958: 333) theorized that Tupa was Tupac, a Peruvian Inca, who in the performance is attended by his warriors. However, from these and other sources on Mangarevan culture, I infer that the masked performer perhaps represented Te Tumu-he, a sea god who had abducted Tangaroa's son's wife.

3. D21-46, Otago Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand. This mask consisting of two parts lashed together at the sides has a face fore and aft. The museum obtained it in 1921 from F. W. Platts, Resident Administrator in Mangaia; it is labelled as being a *katu tupapahu*. G. S. Park, Anthropologist, Otago Museum, kindly sent me on 15 June 1973 five excellent photographs and a detailed description of the mask which, I conjecture, is of a two-faced sea god, perhaps Tinirau, one of several two-faced gods in central Polynesian mythology (Plates III-IV). Inspiration to construct it with two faces may also have come from an unidentified two-faced stone god in Mangaia described by Gold (1946).

My account of the Musée de Tahiti mask incorporates data from sources cited above and study of photographs; the most recent (Plate IIa) enables me to see some of what was not visible before the mask deteriorated. Apparently carefully modelled, designed, and rounded to simulate a huge human head, the mask, hollowed out from a coconut log, covered the wearer's head completely and rested on his shoulders. Openings cut for mouth, eyes, and nostrils enabled him to see, hear, and breathe. Whether a slit in the top of the head is due to deterioration is not clear to me. The head is 40 cm high and 31 cm wide at the back, 42 cm high and 40 cm wide in front, with the depth of the head 31 cm. The wall, which averages 4 cm in thickness, increases at the apex to 5 cm. Now weighing 5.5 kg, it would have been heavier before loss through deterioration of its horsehair moustache, beard, and numerous wooden ornaments imitating mother-of-pearl valves and bivalves. The largest ornament remaining is 17 cm in diameter. These ornaments (which I shall call shells) were attached to forehead, cheeks, and both the front and back of the skull. Fresh marine vegetation covering the mask at the start of the 1912 performance fell off completely as the drama proceeded.

Skull and face are clearly sculptured. The back of the skull, rounded above and shaped down to the nape, is longer than the front, and is convex. The lower open part of the mask has been carved away on each side from the chin up along the jawbone to a high point where it drops away to a rounded, flaplike outward extension at the nape. The hooklike contour and napelike flap probably set the mask more securely and comfortably on the wearer's shoulders.

The face—flat, slightly concave in a vertical direction, and with the lower part triangular—has, it seems, a benevolent half-smile. To emphasize inset, open, almond-shaped eyes cut in the wood, the outer rim of each socket is framed in a light color and then circled with a black band, with the upper part of the band looking like eyebrows. The source of the coloring matter is not stated. The forehead bulges a little.

The nose—long, narrow, high-bridged, strongly modelled—is flat on top with slight flaring toward the wings. Viewed from above, the contour from nasion to tip is rectangular.

Each cheekbone's height is exaggerated by a wooden shell, attached apparently by nails. Each shell, its median line painted black, is placed with its wider part in line below the outer corner of the eye and its narrower part pointed toward the base of the nostril.

The mouth—a narrow, rectilinear slit—has a curved, slightly shaped lower lip and a straight upper lip. No teeth are visible. The coarse, wiry, black moustache and beard were probably horsehair. The moustache—a long, narrow, thin, wispy bunch of hair—is fastened under the nose, its ends drooping stiffly toward the jaw. The luxuriant beard, apparently attached below the lower lip and extending a little beyond it, falls long, full, slightly wavy, and parted in two, down to the wearer's chest.

The ears—large, protruding, crescentic, and seemingly quite realistic—are carved out of the log, not attached separately. They curve forward, with the front hollowed out flat and shaped to have the base of the lobe in line with the bottom curve of the shell on the cheekbone and continue the line of the jaw. Black color accents the ears. Behind the upper part of each ear, on the occiput, is a shell about the size of that on the cheek but placed lengthwise with the contour of the ear.

Not placed flat as on the cheeks and behind the ears, the shells on the skull and forehead stand out vertically at angles to suggest a crown or wreath. Ten shells are visible in the original illustration. Most cluster at the forehead; a line of them extends down to eyebrows and nasion; and others are at the back of the skull. Perhaps the angle of the illustration creates the effect of a horn formed by a vertical shell at each side of the head; a single valve tipping each ear is seemingly higher than others. Between each horn and a large valve rising from the nasion are two or three other valves. The imitation shells and what seem like horns—a feature in many parts of the world to indicate a supernatural personage—are the only theriomorphic features of this mask.

Much labor, it appears, was expended to carve numerous pieces of wood to imitate different sizes of both bivalves and single valves of mother-of-pearl oysters and to place them according to a definite plan on face and skull. The surface of each shell is marked by two or three grooved and darkened semicircles, and not only the median line of each bivalve but the outer edge of each single valve is outlined in black. Slight holes visible in the mask where shells are missing indicate that they were attached with small nails—or perhaps in some instances threaded in place with sennit through matching holes in ornament and mask.

Director of the 1912 play at Hikueru was Te Iho-o-te-pongi of Raroia Island (Luomala 1949: 81). From this "Raroian sage," Emory (1947: 8) acquired, besides much concerning Tuamotuan religious structures and ceremonies, an orally transmitted tradition (p. 14) about installing Varoa Tikaroa as chief of Takume Island on the marae Aturona some fourteen generations earlier when Raroia and its neighbor Takume constituted a political unit. In 1949 Danielsson (1952: 64, 91–113, 144–145), who photographed Te Iho at Raroia, devoted a chapter to him and his lore. Earlier in Tahiti he had heard of him as a *tahunga*, a learned man, one of the "few old scholars to be found [in the Tuamotus] who not only know all

the traditions of their people but have seen its native culture with their own eyes." Indifferent as the younger generations had been to Te Iho's learning, they asked him to organize, demonstrate, train, and direct traditional chants and dances for the Governor's expected visit. To expand the program, Te Iho in an hour's time created a new composition on the theme of fire-making. When the Governor's visit proved only a rumor, Raroians, although disappointed after hours of training under Te Iho, held the performance for their own pleasure.

The play directed by Te Iho in 1912 was "Te Reko no Tutepoganui, Te Ariki ko Te Moana (Le Parler-Drame de Tutepoganui, Roi des Mers)," that is, "The Recitative-Drama about Tu-te-ponga-nui, King of the Sea." Adding that Polynesians have no word for *une pièce de théâtre*, or play, Caillot (1914: 95) felt justified in inserting the word *drame* because that is what it was—generally serious, occasionally comic, but more a drama than a comedy or any other genre of play. He was naturally surprised, he said, to encounter among present-day Polynesians, despite their degeneration following conversion to Christianity, *une véritable pièce de théâtre*. Even more astonishing, he continued, is that this play is not their work but that of their cannibal ancestors, which proves once more, he concluded, that anthropophagy is no certain indication of intellectual inferiority. He gave no evidence, however, that the play had been composed by ancestors of those connected with it in 1912. Its age is unknown. Although the play is in the Tuamotuan language, presumably spectators from other archipelagoes understood enough to appreciate the recitatives.

The performance took place at night, with native torches for illumination, on the public plaza in the center of the village in front of the community house. To mark the performance's opening and closing, thereby providing boundaries of time to set it off from real life, a musician struck the sharkskin head of his hollow, coconut-log drum. Actors stood or sat according to their roles. The actor playing the sea god was tall, a desirable qualification, I conjecture, for his dignified role and effective display of his log head mask. No one else was masked. Nothing more is told of costuming or setting.

Spectators probably sat or stood level with the stage, or plane of performance, and faced the community house which perhaps was the actors' tiring-room and backstage where they waited for cues. Caillot said little about the sides of actors' entry and exit.

A prologue, doubtless Te Iho's exposition like a printed theatre program, named and identified characters, and described time and place. Tuamotuan storytellers frequently have a prologue to introduce characters and summarize coming events. The play was set in legendary times in Vavau, locally referring to atolls where the play was performed each year. In the cast besides the paramount chief of the sea, Tu-te-ponga-nui, were Tohoro-punga, a lower chief in charge of marine products; Rongo-ma-tane, a fisherman; Hina, now a land-dweller, but former wife of Tuna (Eel) in Ruahatu, an ocean abyss; Ri, a real dog representing Hina's transformed lover; and sundry unnamed people of the land and the ocean. Throughout the play spectators who had seen it previously explained things to those who had not; Caillot incorporated these explanations in parentheses.

Five acts of varying length followed the prologue. The first two, rather brief, were localized on the sea, the remaining three on land. The play, with both serious and comic situations, placed certain famous mythic characters and events in a new

framework, the two sea gods' first visit to land. The first part, with one surprise after another, built to a climax and then held spectators in suspense with a comic interlude in which the dog doubtless stole the show. Then came the denouement. Problems posed in the first part—Tohoro's unauthorized visit to land and Whale's and Turtle's disappearance (captives in a lagoon)—were resolved. Everyone sang and danced but soon bade tearful farewells when the sea people departed never more to return. Drumbeats recalled spectators to reality.

In Act I, Rongo-ma-tane, out fishing, invoked Tohoro-punga to accept his offering. In Act II, Tohoro himself appeared to ask astonished Rongo for news about the land. Rongo invited him ashore with himself as guide. In Act III, Tohoro, returning from sightseeing, recognized his superior, Tu, the masked actor, advancing toward land with his entourage. First warning landmen to prepare for war, Tohoro took heart, apologized to Tu for leaving without his permission, and asked why he had come. Tu complained that land noise disturbed his sleep in Ruahatu, and Whale and Turtle had disappeared. Tohoro, telling land-dwellers to relax, offered to seek the missing subjects. Then he and the land people left to look for them.

In Act IV, Tu went sightseeing. A few stay-at-homes approached him. One was Hina come to renew her acquaintance. When Tu inquired about the strange creature at her heels, it "spoke" (a stagehand pulled its tail). Then in a monologue Hina described her life since the demigod Maui had defeated Tuna in Ruahatu and taken her as his wife. When she later took Ri as a lover, Maui transformed him into the first dog in the world. Now the dog was her sole companion. Tu sighed sympathetically: "Alas for Ri!" Ri replied: "Ouah! Ouah!" In Act V, Tohoro and party returned. Whale and Turtle now awaited Tu at the shore. Tu then pardoned Tohoro and those who had held Whale and Turtle captive. Joy reigned until the ocean people departed. Land-dwellers wept and gesticulated in farewell. There the play ended.

Tohoro, according to Caillot (1914: 98-99), on seeing Tu approach land, acted in turn thoughtful, reflective, and frightened as he stared fixedly to sea. Then he rushed about, beating his breast at his folly in visiting land without permission; next he rushed "inland" to warn people to arm. But, as Tu drew nearer, he brazened it out to greet his chief with compliments and questions. To land-dwellers he identified members of Tu's entourage by naming numerous corals and shellfish, doubtless all familiar to his listeners, and many depicted on Tu's masked face. Much as one wishes Caillot had told more, one recognizes that no other observer of a central Polynesian play has told as much.

That the Kon-Tiki Museet mask is very old is all the Norwegian Expedition learned of its history. Mangarevans made it, I conjecture, early in the 20th century, perhaps about when the Musée de Tahiti mask was made. Foreign influence is evident, judging from the description by Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold (1965), in iron nails, oil paints, horsehair, and probable use of a metal saw to shape a twelve-pointed crown. Age, wear, repeated use, and attempts at repair show in thick, red-brown oil paint over brick-red paint; replacement, now damaged, of a wooden strip to hold down a black beard, itself nearly gone; nails and outlines in the paint left by vanished ornaments (mother-of-pearl shells, a local chief claimed) on each

point of the crown, on ear lobes and tips, and between eyebrows; all cut marks much eroded; and the base of the mask almost worn away.

The mask, according to the two Norwegians, is somewhat funnel-shaped with the base a little wider than the top. It is 49 cm high, and carved from the hollow, lower part of a coconut trunk to a thickness of 6 to 9 cm. At the base the maximum exterior diameter is 40 cm. Although slightly rough inside, the exterior is painted smooth. Triangular serrations in the wood form the twelve-pointed crown, its outer dimensions respectively 34.6 cm and 33 cm. Each point is about 9 cm apart and 6 cm deep.

Each wider side has, at the base, a semicircular indentation, 36.5 cm apart, to fit the wearer's shoulders. On a narrow side, a man's face is represented. Above the base, the lower part of the face, including a flat, bluntly pointed chin, is in high relief. Each wider side has a C-shaped ear raised in relief 5 mm; the right, 17 cm high and 13 cm wide, has incurved ends; the left, 19 cm high and 14 cm wide, has ends curved out.

Almond-shaped eyes, 4 cm apart, differ; one is an open hole, the other (apparent in a photograph) has an eyeball. Each eye is about 9.5 cm long and 3 to 4 cm wide.

The two-sectioned nose, rounded-triangular in cross section, has "a triangular base carved in relief on which an acquiline nose with a truncated triangular outline is attached with iron nails. The narrow truncated top of the nose is set into a step at the forehead between the eyes" (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965: 157). The nose is 14.7 cm long; 1.7 cm wide at the top, 7.8 cm at the base; and the tip projects 5.5 cm.

The elliptically shaped mouth, narrowing at the center and with upturned corners, is 14 cm long and 4 cm wide at the corners. Iron nails secure a wooden strip for a black beard made from a horse's tail.

Sweeping lines of clear blue oil paint underline eyes and mark eyebrows and moustache. The line under each eye ends at the outer corner with a vertical "tear mark." Eyebrows, joined in a little upsweep above the nose, extend to the ears, then angle sharply and drop vertically. The moustache, extending beyond the mouth, forms a U-curve, with the lower part following the edge of the chin. How much the mask weighs has not been reported.

After three days of urging, Madame Abel, in order to entertain the Expedition, got the troupe to perform the dance using the mask which had won it first place in a dance competition in Papeete on Bastille Day. No reason is given for the troupe's reluctance to perform. Lack of rehearsal time and perhaps indifference accounted for missed cues and off-timing evident in the performance.

The dance, at Rikitea village, Administration headquarters, was, according to Ferdon (1966: 145-147), in a fairly open, grassy, palm-fringed area, early in the afternoon after performers had drifted in. Of three drummers under a coconut tree, one, Ferdon stated, had "an old style slit gong drum carved from a hardwood log" to give "the deeper off-beat," while two gave "the higher-toned rapid beat" on an empty five-gallon tin. All "started in perfect rhythm, and at a rapid pace" when a dance leader "walked about like a football referee" with a police whistle to signal dancers to take their places. Later, for each new dance pattern he blew a sharp blast. Chanting as an accompaniment is not mentioned; that the Expedition made

recordings suggests that sound effects included more than drums and whistle and that performers did more than dance and pantomime.

Fourteen performers, four with specialty roles, comprised the troupe. Five young girls lined up opposite five men, while a woman and a man—lovers—and later a second man, a rival, appeared at the end of the staging area. From the opposite end, toward the conclusion of the dance, a man wearing the coconut-log head mask appeared.

Except for the mask the only stage props mentioned are spears. The masked dancer had one on arrival as did the man who joined the couple. The lover apparently had no spear; maybe he got one later as did several of the dancers, presumably the five men in a line, when the rivals began to fight.

The troupe was barefooted. Each girl wore a tapa band over a brassiere and a grass skirt over shorts; headgear is not mentioned. Each man had a crown of greenery, bare torso, and brief kilt of green leaves over shorts (the leaves said to be pandanus were more likely ti). Each of the specialty men wore a fringed, hibiscus-bast kilt. Photographs (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965: Plate 55) show the masked dancer's costume. An unidentified young man, with a long, slender wand, has around his neck, under the bottom of his mask, a fringed cape, doubtless a hibiscus-bast kilt, falling over shoulders and chest. Over his shorts he has a fringed kilt. The mask dominates him, making him look "like a humpty-dumpty with his large head and small body with squatting, dancing legs" (Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold 1965: 159). The cape, while further emphasizing his grotesque appearance, also, I suggest, concealed the base of his mask and perhaps made it fit better. I infer this from a photograph showing him only in mask and loincloth; the mask on the visible side has the base indentation now slightly below his shoulder cap and sliding down his upper arm.

The choreography, described by Ferdon (1966: 146), was "no wiggling hula. . . . Parallel lines of dancers [cut] through each other or [broke] into segments to form circles. . . . While the performers moved in and out forming their various patterns, three 'specialty' dancers at one end of the court told the story in a dancing pantomime. First there was only a boy and girl, obviously very much in love, but soon a third participant, a man, began dancing around them with a spear, obviously challenging the other male."

To Heyerdahl and Skjölsvold (1965: 159) "an intrigue was apparently symbolized by the three, as one of the men, who danced with a wooden spear, constantly interrupted the other two in their love affair. Several of the dancers now produced spears, and during a close fight between the rivals, the [grass kilt] was torn off the lover, whose arms were symbolically tied to his back." Then the masked man appeared, dancing forward with his spear and moving up and down between lines, and faced the winner. His further behavior toward the victor is not described. To Ferdon (1966: 146) he "represented the most aesthetic part of the show" as he was "swift and graceful" despite his "awkward and weighty mask."

Ferdon characterized the performance as "basically a story-telling pageant in pantomime." It thus differed from Te Iho's Tuamotuan play. Like it, however, it was on the same plane of performance—level with the audience. In earlier Mangarevan times (Buck 1938a: 153, 167), the paved area before the king's house was usually the public assembly place for daytime ceremonies and entertainments; after

dark they were in the village meeting house, at least for purely social affairs. In the modern Mangarevan dance, the stage was delimited by the two parallel lines of dancers with the three specialty actors at one end to form a rectangle with its opposite end open for the masked dancer to enter between the lines and face the successful rival. The police whistle and drums marked boundaries and subdivisions of time.

In old Mangareva, women wore few ornaments; men ordinarily wore head wreaths of leaves, pandanus drupes, or coconut pinnules, and for war and ceremonies, tapa turbans (Buck 1938a: 169–171). Modern Mangareva, it seems, followed the old custom about headgear for the dance. Innovations included shorts for both men and women under grass kilts, and brassieres for the women. Was the masked dancer's "spear" an imitation of a chief's former status symbol, a long staff of polished wood, one end flattened "like a whale lance" (Buck 1938a: 144, 175)? Did the victorious rival's weapon represent a bamboo fishing pole such as was mentioned in the story (Buck 1938a: 316) that I believe was being acted? Were the ornaments on the mask made to simulate mother-of-pearl as on the Musée de Tahiti mask? Traditionally Mangareva did not use its pearl shell for ornaments. In modern times, Tuamotuans perhaps inspired Mangarevans to use, or imitate, pearl shell; the few pearl shell ornaments Buck (1938a: 174, 178, 289) saw on Mangareva he thought had come from Tuamotuan pearl-divers attending Bastille Day celebrations on the island, where they had also introduced a circular pearl shell fishhook and certain tattooing techniques.

Some of the blue lines painted on the Kon-Tiki Museum mask may imitate old Mangarevan tattooing. Generally, facial tattooing ended with a transverse line extending from ear to ear across the nasal bridge, with the forehead clear except among famed warriors who also had tattooed lips and eyelids (Buck 1938a: 177, 178, 181). Traditionally men wore long moustaches but trimmed their beards to about 3 or 4 inches and either trained them to a point like a goatee or divided them in two as in the Musée de Tahiti mask (Buck 1938a: 10).

In 1956 Mangarevans, disagreeing as to whom the masked actor represented, mentioned either King Tupa or an unnamed son of the god Tangaroa. Perhaps the mask sometimes represented different characters. Expedition recordings when transcribed and translated may identify who was represented in 1956. Data by Laval (1938: 299–300) and Buck (1938a: 111, 127, 316–318) on traditional culture indicate to me that the 1956 masked dancer represented Te Tumu-he, a sea god. The loving couple were Hina-rau-renga (Hina-turmeric-leaf), of unknown parentage, and Turi-a-kainoa (-kaonoa), Tangaroa's older son, whom Tama-kite, the younger, killed to win Hina for himself. When Te Tumu-he abducted Hina, Tangaroa helped Tama-kite rescue her.

A very popular action-dance, "Fishing for Hina" (or, "The Dance about Tetumuhe"), based on this narrative, was seen by Buck (1938a: 317) in 1935 on Bastille Day at Rikitea. How much of the folktale was reenacted he did not state, but he quoted one chant. He mentioned no mask but if such an obviously modern artifact had been used he would have ignored it in his monograph on traditional culture. The 1956 performance continued, it seems, the Rikitean custom of using the same popular folktale for its specialty. In 1935, Karara directed and trained the troupe in the *kapa* based on it for the July 14 celebration. The *kapa*, her specialty,

is the most popular Mangarevan genre of secular chants and uses classical themes. For Bastille Day each village, under its dance leader's direction, composed its songs and dances (or used old ones) and practiced secretly to outwit spies from other villages.

A Mangarevan *kapa* has a refrain called *tumu* (source, introduction) and a series of verses, the refrain sung in one style, the verses in another (Buck 1938a: 386, 484). Buck mentioned no instrumental accompaniment. The *kapa* about Hina is a popular subtype called "Enumeration of Parts of the Body," a common motif in Polynesian chants, especially to praise persons of noble birth. Each of the eight verses (eight is a traditional number) names a different part of Hina's body for her lover to caress. Her parts are formed from rays of the Milky Way, which, in Polynesian lore, is often said to be a shark or other marine creature (sometimes Tangaroa's pet) which Maui or another demigod hurled into the sky. The Hina *kapa* gives the personal name of Tangaroa's fishhook lost from variants of the folktale. The baited hook is not always said to hook Hina as this *kapa* states but to catch or distract Te Tumu-he so that Tangaroa and his son can rescue her.

The translated refrain and the first verse of the *kapa* are:

O Te Tumu-he!

Moaroa was the fishhook of Tangaroa

By which Hina was caught.

1. Stroke down the rays,
The rays of the Milky Way,
They form the hair of Hina-rau-renga.

In the remaining seven verses, the first and third lines name different bodily parts. I give only the first line of each and insert what the rays form. "Look at the rays" (eyes); "Press the nose against the rays" (nose); "Speak to the rays" (mouth); "Pillow the arm beneath the rays" (arms); "Press close to the rays" (front of the body); "Dance to the rays" (buttocks); and "Twine around the rays" (legs).

Tuamotuan influence appears, I suggest, in the longer Tuamotuan name, Mangoroa-i-ata, for the Milky Way replacing the Mangarevan *Mango*, Shark, and in the epithet *-he* in Te Tumu's name as a contraction of *-here* in the Tuamotuan form Rongo-tumu-here. To Buck (1938a: 317-318), on the other hand, *-he* was a euphonic particle, developed from *e*, also euphonic, which gradually became part of Te Tumu's name as singers, instead of chanting "E, Te Tumu" (O, Te Tumu), sang "E, Te Tumu, e" (O, Te Tumu, O) and finally "E, Te-Tumu-he."

A *kapa* is acted out in a *tirau*, a standing dance, with arms and feet moving according to the call of the *pou-kapa*, director (of) *kapa*. That more than one *kapa* was part of the 1935 program is indicated by Buck's noting that when chanters told of Hina being brought to the surface of the water from Te Tumu-he's dwelling, a dancer raised her right hand with her feet keeping time as she moved slightly forward to simulate holding the fishline. At the conclusion, she held both hands, fingers stretched out and quivering, horizontally to the front. Other movements included bending or lifting knees high, or more typically, alternately hopping from one foot to another, with one arm going forward and the other back as a foot touched the ground. Dancers also walked, swayed, and bent in file (Buck 1938a:

396–397). The 1956 standing dance may have been either a *tirau* or a *pe'i*. In 1935 dancers received verbal directions; in 1956 a police whistle gave cues.

Prominent as the masked dancer is, Hina is the pivotal character in the Mangarevan and Tuamotuan plots that draw on familiar folktales about her love life on land and sea. (Polynesia has many Hinas; I use the name in a general sense.) Hina dominated one entire Tuamotuan act despite the masked sea god's presence as she told of life on land. In Mangareva she forces much of the action leading to a fight between Tangaroa's two sons that ends in a fratricide and her marriage to the survivor, to her abduction by Tumu-he (obscurely, punishment for the fratricide, perhaps) while the couple bathe in the ocean, and to the third major action, her rescue by Tangaroa and her husband. The final scene is her joyful reunion with her husband. Variants of this tale also occur in the Tuamotus and Society Islands (Beckwith 1940: 289; Henry 1928: 72).

The Mangarevan masked actor represented, I believe, Te Tumu-he, a minor but notorious sea god, whose "coral houses" were the principal homes of fish and "Homes for Distressed Gentlewomen," as Buck (1935: 60) called them. Buck's view of "this interesting character" as kindly and good-looking is, I think, overgenerous. True, Tumu-he took in a married woman whose father sent her to him (drowned her?) to get even with his son-in-law; he also sheltered a maidservant whose mistress was jealous of her husband's attentions to her. Tumu-he and another god also helped a woman avenge her grandfather's death by sending heat, drought, and famine—but indiscriminately to the entire land. Tumu-he especially liked to make trouble between newlyweds, to abduct ocean-bathing women, and to imprison women whom land-dwellers wanted to get rid of. Te Tumu-he was known as god of misfortune and discord (Buck 1938a: 34, 318, 361, 508).

Tangaroa was not a sea god in Mangareva except in the sense that some worshippers, influenced by post-European Tahitian views, called him creator of all things (Buck 1938a: 509). Traditionally he was one of four classical, fairly otiose Mangarevan gods but more personalized than Atu-moana (Lord of the Ocean), Atu-motua (First Lord, or Lord Father), and Atea (Space) because of folktales about him as the first husband of Haumea, a well-known Polynesian goddess, and then the husband of Toa-tane (Tane's Daughter). Relatives resisted the second marriage because they feared that, like all women in childbirth up to then, she would die through a Caesarean operation. Because Tangaroa knew about natural childbirth Toa-tane lived. Turi-a-kainoa was the first child thus to be born; Tama-kite originated at the same time from an umbilical blood-clot—a common theme in Mangarevan tales.

The brothers are remembered in a song about their inventing a toy raft that children still make. As young adults, they acceded to Toa-Tane's request that they locate and rescue her father, Tane, a commoner and a fisherman, whom Tangaroa had angrily set adrift for catching more than the one fish he wanted; in other words, while Tangaroa had impatiently waited for one fish Tane had wasted time getting a whole catch. In the boys' travels they found and took Tane to Pou, a land named for Tane's oldest brother who lived there. In a festival to honor the visitors, Hina got angry with another woman in a candlenut-tossing contest and set out to sea in "the canoe of Niu." The love-struck brothers followed her to Avaiki. When Turi courted her, jealous Tama-kite killed him with a *kohe raurangi*, an unidentified type

of bamboo fishing pole. Seeking sanctuary, Tama-kite and Hina fled to Mangareva. At Paorua-taki, a cave near Ati-tuiti village, Te Tumu-he, seeing the newlyweds bathing, kidnapped the bride. Tama-kite's prolonged weeping aroused Tangaroa's sympathy enough to make a coconut-shell fishhook and invite Tama-kite to go fishing with him to find Hina.

While Tangaroa dangled the baited hook, inviting Te Tumu-he to bite, Tama-kite waited to seize Hina, but the sea god recognized Tangaroa, guessed his purpose, and ignored the baited hook. However, its wagging distracted him long enough for Tama-kite to grab Hina, haul her on his raft, and go ashore for the caresses described in the song Buck recorded.

That Tama-kite used a raft (and that he and his brother had earlier invented a toy raft) rather than a canoe reflects the temporal setting of the narrator's account. It is the period after Mangarevans had lost knowledge of making canoes and used only rafts. Canoe-making died out because a chief forbade it; canoe-making had become a sign that a political revolution was brewing, that a rival chief was preparing to overthrow the paramount chief by force, and was constructing canoes to have them ready for a fast departure in case his plot failed (Buck 1938a: 278, 288). That Hina sailed from mythical Pou in "the canoe of Niu" suggests that Pou still had canoes, although Hina's may have been a magical coconut sheath or at best a coconut-log dugout.

The Otago Museum coconut-log head mask from Mangaia consists of two face masks lashed together at the sides with simulated hair, but no crown, to cover the head. Nothing suggests that either mask was ever used separately. Each face of a bearded man is slightly different from the other. For example, one has a broader nose than the other with the tip fleshier and more pendant. One face has a beard but the other, which now lacks one, may have had one, or was intended to have one, as holes for its insertion are present. Both have painted moustaches extending across the face; perhaps the intent was to cover them later with hair. Ears are not depicted, probably because of the side-lashings.

The shape resembles that of the Kon-Tiki Museum mask more than the Musée de Tahiti mask. Like them the materials, except for the coconut log, are foreign and include paint, lead pencil, horsehair, sacking, and string. Like the other two log masks the coconut trunk is carved with semicircles to rest on the wearer's shoulders; the chin is delineated; a short neck merges into the scapular area; eyes, mouth, and nostrils are cut out and open; the nose is large and aquiline; paint above and below the sockets strongly defines eyes; and thick paint on the mouth dramatizes lips, moustache, and beard.

G. S. Park, Anthropologist at Otago Museum who kindly sent me the following data and photographs, later added that the mask weighs 2245 grams (2.245 kg).

The mask is Otago Museum No. D21-46. It is described in Dr. H. D. Skinner's handwriting as a '*Katu tupapahu*' mask from Mangaia and was presented to us by F. W. Platts, Resident Mangaia in 1921. The appearance of the mask would suggest that it was made not long before that date. The blue and red paint used about the eyes and mouth is obviously a store paint, and the pencil lines which were used to mark out the cuts at the base of the mask can still be seen. It consists of essentially two masks tied back to back by six lashings of string. The 'hair' is

made of pieces of hessian sacking, horse hair and string. The beard which is applied to one side of the mask also appears to be made of horse hair. The mask is some 45 centimetres in height, 29 in width and 25 between the 'chins' at the base. In addition to the beard which is stuck on one side, a series of holes have been drilled into the base of the mask on both sides, presumably for the attachment of further beard hair. The mask fits quite comfortably on a wearer, who is able to look out of its eyes.

Katu Tupapahu means, perhaps, Very Important Lord Corpse. '*Atu (fatu, hatu)*, lord or master, has a primary meaning of core or kernel, the hard and essential part of a thing; *katu* is a larger kernel (Gill 1876: 34). *Tupapa'u* (*tupapaku*, *tupapahu*) denotes a corpse, mummy, or ghost; in modern central Polynesia it connotes almost any eerie, ghostly apparition, usually malignant or baneful. It may be a revengeful spirit of a dead magician or other person; a bird whose calls, generally at night, presage misfortune or death; or a spirit who during moonlight frightens away fish until a fisherman makes it flee in shame by turning his sandals upside down to show that he knows it is there. Modern Mangareva tells of a "famous Tupapa'u of the Sea" who, with his large dog, leaves enormous black footprints on the surface of the sand and is a sign of an impending death. The loser in casting lots with coconut half-shells is called *tupapa'u* when at the end of a chant he holds the only top half of a shell used (Buck 1927: 291, 324; Cuzent 1883-84: 71; Eskridge 1931: 193-230). The spelling *tupapahu* reflects a theory, now rejected, that Mangaia used the *h* sound instead of the glottal stop (Buck 1934: 6).

As no Polynesian mythic character is called Katu Tupapa'u, it is unknown whether the mask was named for its eerie effect or its possible funerary or memorial use to represent a god in a drama or a deceased's revengeful spirit.

Why two human faces on the mask? One to represent the living man, the other, his spirit? Was the unknown woodcarver inspired by a two-faced stone god hidden in a Mangaian cave, by other central Polynesian two-faced representations in the plastic arts, by narratives about two-faced male and female marine deities?

The two-faced image of very fine gray stone, roughly life-size or possibly a little larger, was seen by Gold (1946: 215-217), perhaps the only European ever to see it and other taboo artifacts in two funerary caves. Each face on the image in the Ivirua cave had been "cut to bear the same likeness, whether viewed from front or rear," and the whole was reminiscent of "Epstein-school sculpturing." Because "no present Mangaian seems able to give any authentic account," this Janus, Gold surmised, "might possibly have begun his divine career in some other part of Polynesia, and been brought to the island by canoe." In front of the image is "a remarkably well made stone bowl, three feet wide, blackened by candlenut smoke and oil drippings. Modern Mangaians do not work in stone at all; such a bowl would be quite beyond the power of even the best craftsmen of today." These two artifacts, like a legendary giant's 30-foot spear in another cave, were highly taboo. Even pre-European Mangaians, although excellent woodcarvers, rarely worked in stone; in 1934, twelve years before Gold's report, Buck knew of only two Mangaian stone images, both extremely crude and representing Rongo, their great war god (Buck 1934: 170). My suggestion that the Janus stone image may have inspired the carver of Katu Tupapa'u has some support from Gold's assumption

that Tangitoru, last of the great woodcarvers, whose death came at a great age in the 1930s, may have used models he saw in one of the caves to carve wooden ceremonial adze helms resembling quadrangular towers.

The Katu Tupapa'u mask and the stone image remind one that Easter Island employed in varied ways the motif of two human faces back to back on a single head. The ambiguous term "double-headed images" in descriptions (Métraux 1940: 257-259) sometimes means a body with two heads, each with a single face, sometimes a two-faced, single-headed figure. An apparently hollow, wooden good luck amulet (Peabody Museum, Salem, E5307) astonishingly resembles Katu Tupapa'u on a small scale (887 mm high, 76 mm wide); it has two masculine faces back to back on a single head, no neck, and deep indentations at the base such as the log head mask has to fit the wearer's shoulders. A suspension hole at the top of the skull enabled the owner to wear his pendant on a cord around his neck. (See Métraux 1940: 258, Fig. 42a.)

A small wooden figure, collected in 1884, of an unidentified god with a man's face on one side of a head, a woman's on the other, was used at dances and festivals (Métraux 1940: 257). An owner carried such a figure in his arms to "dance" it or hung it around his neck if it had a suspension hole. Each side of the upper part of a ceremonial dance paddle has a human face (Métraux 1940: 268, Fig. 44a; Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22845). Inscriptions carved on wooden *rongorongo* tablets include representations of human beings "with two heads," and other inscriptions and petroglyphs show a bird "with double head on a single body" (references cited seem to mean the figures have a double-faced head) (Métraux 1940: 258-259). A hat has on each side of the crown "a human face modelled in relief and painted on kapa"; and a head circlet has a single modelled face on it (Métraux 1940: 227, Fig. 26; Peabody Museum, Cambridge, 53540, 53541). An Easter Island legend (Métraux 1940: 85) tells that a warrior speared to death a boy, not named, who had two faces which angrily argued with each other; one asked the other to look and see the enemy approaching, the other refused; while they talked the warrior struck the boy in the neck. Perhaps using the term mask in a figurative sense, Kooijman (1972: 209) stated that the two opposite sides of the hat "carry a painted human mask." Barthel (1962) cited these and other representations of human and bird heads and faces as indicating the pre-European existence of masks on Easter Island.

Which named two-faced god might Katu Tupapa'u of Mangaia sometimes represent? Immediately coming to mind are Tinirau and Ruahatu, prominent marine gods in Mangaia, the Tuamotus, and the Society Islands. Mangaian and Tuamotuan records do not describe their appearance but Tahitian descriptions may serve as they include beliefs similar to those of Mangaia and the Tuamotus.

Two-faced Tinirau (Tinirau Ma-aro-e-tua) is how the royal Tahitian Pomare family's genealogical chant named him. Family priests assigned him an unusually high, if ambiguous, status among ocean gods when they syncretized him with Ruahatu and other sea gods. Ta'aroa (Tangaroa), the Pomare progenitor, elevated to the rank of uncreated creator by family priests, called out after certain creative acts, "Who is seaward there?" The reply came: "It is I, Te Fatu-moana (The Lord of the Ocean),/The lord who by sorcery overturned rocks,/Grew up in the ocean, became rock in the ocean of Tinirau Ma-aro-e-rua,/You [Ta'aroa] who brought about life in the sea there,/O Ro'o and Ruahatu." A Pomare variant, omitting

Tinirau's name, added, however, that also growing were "Sharp pinnacles of coral in the ocean, upright stones in the ocean" (Emory 1938: 56; 62, n. 38). Coral is one of Ruahatu's embodiments.

A Ra'iatean genealogical chant (Henry 1928: 358), more clearly syncretizing Tinirau and Ruahatu, added that Ruahatu is "merely" one of Tinirau's names. Tinirau-Ruahatu, conjured forth by Ta'aroa, received a horizontally divided body, his tail that of a swordfish, his head and torso those of a man. Swordfish was his messenger, all fish were his wives, his children were innumerable (*tinirau*). He had reef pools as mirrors and sleeping places. Tinirau is famed throughout Polynesia for his marine life, his sexual attraction for all females, good looks, vanity, pools as mirrors, residence on Sacred Isle, which floats about the ocean, and devotion to his ocean pets and subjects (less to his wives and sweethearts) (Luomala 1955: 101-120).

Pre-European Deluge myths in the Society Islands name either Tinirau-Ruahatu or Ruahatu alone as causing a flood when two fishermen accidentally hooked his hair as he slept in the ocean (Henry 1928: 448-453; Ellis 1853: I, 389). While accounts obtained in the early 1820s by missionaries and published by Ellis (1853) and Henry (1928) vary from island to island, Ruahatu apparently was ceremonially more important than Tinirau, for the missionaries, with rare exceptions, called him the "Tahitian or South Sea Neptune."

Among Ruahatu's other names are Tino-rua, Two Bodies or Two Natures, god and man, swordfish and man. Tino-rua is also called Lord of the Ocean like Ruahatu. He too has Swordfish as his messenger; Shark (but not Blue Shark) is also named. When Tino-rua tried unsuccessfully to raise low-hanging Atea (Space) he was subordinate to Oropa'a, another sea god. When Tino-rua's name was not synonymous with Ruahatu and he functioned as an independent god, either he or Ruahatu received offerings from fishermen at special shrines, consecrated new temples after the Deluge, opened reef passages, and directed that the sinews of fish (newly fished-up islands) be cut to stabilize them (Henry 1928: 148, 358-359, 410).

Mata-rua, Two Faces, was a huge monster, *tuputupua*, who lived in a dark ocean abyss where he was born; he "had no back to his head, but he had a forehead below and behind; it was a head with two faces" (Henry 1928: 358-359).

Priests in the Society Islands, to promote family and cult prestige and authority, obviously deified abstractions of characteristics of Tinirau and Ruahatu, and otherwise revised traditions through syncretism, fission, invention, and forgetfulness.

They have told of one two-faced female: Hina, the first woman, who sometimes functioned as Ta'aroa's daughter-wife, had "a front face and a back face and ate from both" (Henry 1928: 287, 402).

To Mangaian and Tuamotuan fishermen, as to Tahitian, Ruahatu brought fishing luck. Many Tuamotuan maraes visited by Emory and Te Iho incorporated *ruahatu*, a special platform altar of branching coral symbolizing the god Ruahatu and the site of offerings and prayers to him. The important turtle-sacrificing ceremony at a marae formally begged Ruahatu to release his procreative power in the ocean (Emory 1947: 11, 21, 69 ff.). Te Iho, it will be remembered, gave the name of Tu-ponga-nui's ocean home as Ruahatu. (I find, by the way, no other reference to this Tu except in Te Iho's play.)

In Mangaia, Rua'atu had minor rank since he was not a tribal god. However, fishermen, needing no priest or secret chant to do so, always offered him a fish or,

as a substitute, a coral pebble at one of his "numberless" shrines, a simple white limestone slab (Gill 1885: 121–123, 1892: 21; Buck 1934: 168, 173, 177, 178, 183).

Two-faced personages, then, appeared in pre-European central and eastern Polynesian art and traditions and frequently were associated with the ocean. Who then might the two-faced log mask have represented? Katu Tupapa'u may have portrayed Tinirau or his Mangaian older brother Vātea (Atea) or, less likely, Rua'atu. Mangaia, while retaining Vātea's more usual role as god of Space, also made him supreme over the ocean and cetaceans, with porpoises (whales were seldom seen) as his special creations and pets. Tinirau, until he bargained with his older brother for more space, had a very limited area for his innumerable subjects, all the fish of the ocean from the shark down; he either kept them in ponds at Sacred Isle or at Moana-Iraku, Deep Ocean (in the latter the wind god, another brother, ruled). Mangaian dramatists exploited themes from Vātea's and Tinirau's careers and conflicts but favored those from Tinirau's romantic life, such as his dancing parties on Sacred Isle with his subjects and his son's learning and introducing the dances to Mangaia (see Gill 1876).

Whereas Tahitians, like Tongans and Samoans, described mermen and mermaids as horizontally divided as fish and human (Beckwith 1932: 170–171, n. 28), one Mangaian (and one wonders if others would agree) described (and sketched) Vātea for Gill (1876: 4–5) as being, like Tinirau, a composite, vertically divided personage; one half from head to toe was human; Vātea's other half was cetacean, Tinirau's was sprat. Tinirau's subjects, like him, could take either fish or human or divided form. Buck (1934: 14) has rationalized that when Tinirau and Vātea are said to have two bodies, the human is the spiritual form, the marine the material incarnation.

Since Mangaian reports never refer to a two-faced deity, I assume that the carver of Katu Tupapa'u drew inspiration for his two-faced coconut-log mask from familiarity with beliefs and artifacts of neighboring islands. That neither face is grotesquely distorted and each is more realistically carved and painted than those on the Mangarevan-made log masks suggests that the mask might serve to represent Tinirau, the handsome, maritime playboy of Polynesia, with both faces human but perhaps with one representing his earthly, the other, his otherworldly aspect.

As applicable as Western definitions of theatre, head mask, and face mask are those for two manipulable heads which Mangaia and Aitutaki developed in the historical era for dramatic performances. No evidence exists that they had puppets or marionettes in pre-European times.

The heads are subtypes of puppets and marionettes. All types, often collectively and ambiguously called puppets, are inanimate theatrical figures whose movements a human operator, usually called a puppeteer, controls. More limited definitions are that a puppet is a figure which an operator controls only with his hands without any intermediary mechanical device, and that a marionette is a figure which he controls by cords, rods, or other devices, alone or in combination. Speaight (1955: 32–35) might perhaps call the Polynesian heads borderline between moving images and puppet-marionette types.

The same terms apply if the manipulable figure is only a head. The Aitutakian is a puppet; the Mangaian appears to be a marionette. Both will be described in detail later. Neither head is detachable from, or attached to, a torso or a whole body like Hawaiian puppets and marionettes (most of them obviously post-European in

origin); the heads also differ from Maori marionettes and a rope-operated Niue effigy (Luomala 1978). The heads also differ from the *nemes nevinbur* in New Hebrides, especially Malekula, which are modelled heads, each mounted on a stick, and raised by dancers behind an enclosure to permit spectators to see only the heads; two usually have arms, hands, and fingers manipulated by puppeteers (see Deacon 1934: 414, 466; Harrisson 1937: 417; Girard 1957; Guiart 1949). Highly dramatic and complex ceremonies, using masked human actors, inanimate figures, or both to represent spirits, function mainly to memorialize the dead, initiate new members into secret societies, and entertain—or terrify—spectators. In New Britain sacred and secular celebrations, most importantly to honor the dead, have public processions of masked human performers as well as anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures worked by puppeteers, each on a litter with his marionette that he operates to entertain spectators; a string-operated Chinese dragon indicates the love of novelty, an emotion characteristic also of Polynesian entertainers and spectators (see Goodenough 1955: 28, 34–35; Valentine 1965: 175–176).

An essential characteristic of a puppet or marionette is that it move. The two Polynesian heads are movable in place to a limited degree and have movable parts. Sound frequently accompanies performances, but pantomime alone may suffice. Although next to nothing has been reported about the heads, I infer from modern central Polynesian skits using head masks that puppeteers may have assigned the heads acting and vocal roles, and provided most of the vocalization themselves as they manipulated them. Human instrumentalists, singers, dancers, and speakers of recitatives may have added further interest.

What are variously called moving images, puppet images, or moving sculptures are sometimes mechanically less complex than these heads. An example of a Polynesian moving image is the large, humanoid wicker image of the demigod Maui that in 1768 Captain Cook (1968: 111–112) saw in Tahiti but did not see in use. One wonders if Ariois used it. Cook conjectured that Tahitians employed it somewhat like a Punch in a Punch and Judy show. However, unlike the more complex, manipulated Punch, the Tahitian image perhaps functioned essentially as a full body mask like the large, hollow, humanoid images reported from Easter Island for the mid-19th century (Luomala 1973). A man entered such an image after it had been secured in place and spoke through the open mouth to eulogize his dead father as part of a memorial feast. By occupying the image symbolizing his dead parent he psychologically identified himself with him and simultaneously superseded him. The hollow image may have evolved from an earlier stuffed effigy which 18th-century Spanish visitors saw at a ceremony and learned represented a deceased person.

Whether Cook Islanders ever made more than two manipulable heads, now to be described, is not known. T. F. Cheesman, then Director of the Auckland Museum, obtained the Aitutaki head (12871) in 1899 for the Museum. In his study of indigenous Aitutaki material culture, Buck (1927: 371) gave short shrift to the “mask labelled as having come from Aitutaki,” and stated that “The figure has a serrated crown, and wears a long beard. It is painted with European paint. The mask looks so much like Father Neptune that it has not been reproduced for these pages.” Had he examined the artifact he would not have called it a mask. It is a narrow-necked, manlike puppet head carved from a hollowed-out coconut trunk. It has

movable eyes manipulated by putting a hand through a slit at the back of the head. That it was intentionally constructed as a puppet head and not as a head mask is apparent from its narrow neck.

D. H. Simmons, Ethnologist, Auckland Museum, on 5 March 1973, kindly mailed me a photograph and data about the head (Plate Va). After stating that Cheesman had collected it and that it indeed "is very much like Father Neptune in appearance," he added:

It is in actual fact a puppet head type of thing with a slit like a slit gong in the back into which a hand can be inserted to move the eyes, which are hinged with a piece of fencing wire rather like those of a doll; hollowed out of solid soft wood of some sort, with a realistic face painted black and white with a blue nose and blue ears. It has toothed decorations around the top to act as a crown and these are painted blue and white. A raffia type skirt is hung over the back of the crown to act as blond hair, while a fringing beard dyed blue, also made of raffia, has been attached with pieces of canvas and 3-inch nails. An extra piece of horse's tail has been added under the chin. All of the paints used are of European origin. The eyes are painted white with blue irises. The height is 48 cm. Height of the face is 28.5 cm. Width of the face is 24 cm. The slit at the back is 24.5×5.5 cm.

Simmons also wrote (3 April 1975) that the wood is coconut. Weight was not reported. The raffia is, I conjecture, shredded hibiscus bast, often used on the tapa-covered and log masks.

Possible manipulations of the head would be, I think, to set it on a mat-shielded stage above the audience, move the eyes with one hand through the slit, and rock the head in different directions with the other. While no evidence exists that it was ever raised on any vertical prop, the height of the head and perhaps the weight do not entirely preclude, as a wild guess, that the puppeteer might occasionally operate it as a hand puppet by inserting one arm as a spindle inside the neck and up to the eyes so that his fingers could work their connecting wire; his other hand might grasp the slit to steady or turn the head as desired. No matter how the head was manipulated the simulated hair and beard would help hide the puppeteer's arm or arms. For further screening, a grass kilt around the neck of the head would suffice.

The two commentators do not explain in what respects the Aitutaki head resembles Father Neptune, relevant as their point is. According to H. M. Lydenberg (1957: 20), the earliest reference to Neptune in a seaboard ceremony is 1557 although ceremonies, either solemn or boisterous, in crossing the line are reported earlier. The line is either the Arctic Circle, the Tropic of Cancer, the Tropic of Capricorn, the equator, or other, but is later mainly the equator in the Atlantic or the Pacific. By the early 19th century the French concept of Bonhomme (or Père) Tropique (or Ligne) begins to merge with that of Neptune, with the latter the ultimate winner as the ruler of the "baptizing" or initiating by horseplay those crossing the line for the first time. The general features of Neptune's appearance are well established early. Emerging from the ocean holding his trident, sometimes with a fresh fish impaled on it, he is sometimes masked, and usually his body is painted (blue is sometimes mentioned) and his beard and hair are long. With him may be his wife, child, and various attendants to assist in shaving, ducking, and

A



Plate V *a*, puppet head from Aitutaki collected by T. F. Cheesman in 1899 (Auckland Museum no. 12871; photograph from D. H. Simmons, Auckland Museum); *b*, Mangaian puppet head at a feast (photograph by Peter Buck, Bishop Museum negative no. 14679).

B





Plate VI *a*, enlargement of Manganian puppet head, probably being held by the puppeteer immediately at left of head (photograph by Peter Buck, Bishop Museum negative no. 14679); *b*, Manganian puppet head on high mat-covered platform at the time of the feast (photograph by Peter Buck, Bishop Museum negative no. 14678).

blackening the initiates. Organizers used whatever materials and personnel were available for the often brutal ceremony. According to J. Fenimore Cooper (1850: 308–314), an 18th century Neptune had mopheads for hair, a seaweed mantle, and a trident of “three marlingspikes properly arranged and borne on the staff of a half-pike.” Hailing the vessel by name while pretending to rise at shipside from the ocean depths, Neptune, shedding fresh seaweed, arrives on deck, perhaps with a company of sea nymphs (men grotesquely garbed as women), to investigate the errands and characters of those passengers and crew members he has not previously met. He hazes them and exacts tribute from them and any timid souls he can bully.

Undoubtedly the Western custom of having Neptune impersonated in a ceremony became familiar to Polynesians. Their employment as crew members, travel as passengers, visits on board, and hearsay made many familiar with life on foreign ships and with Western folk customs, beliefs, and rites pertaining to ships and the sea. Impersonations of Neptune may have been one factor among many in what they made the log heads and log masks look like. Their depictions may have preserved elements of Western folk interpretations of Neptune lacking in Western records. Most likely, each Western interpretation differs in some respects from another according to the specific era, imagination, and predominant cultural background of the organizer of each masquerade.

What this Little Tradition may have incorporated from the Great Tradition about Neptune (and his more powerful and versatile Greek predecessor Poseidon) led me to investigate both traditions and fortunately come across Brower’s essay (1971) on the visual and verbal translations of the Neptune myth in Virgil, Rubens, and Dryden. I shall bypass my sidetrack except to note that Poseidon’s famed horses make the Polynesian use of hair from a horse (an animal introduced, of course, in the historic era) happily if unconsciously appropriate and that the blue color Aitutaki applied so lavishly to the “Neptune” head but not to the hair recalls the Homeric epithet “dark (blue)-haired” for Poseidon and his horses’ manes, an epithet, as Brower noted (1971: 158), suggesting also the color of the sea. Another sidetrack, a folklorist’s holiday, that, I think, Tom Harrisson would also have enjoyed, was to discover how much in common the sea gods of Western sea-oriented cultures would find with their Polynesian spiritual brothers were they to meet some day in an International Otherworldly Congress of Sea Gods.

No data have been located about whom the Aitutaki head represents or its roles. As it probably was not a toy but an inanimate actor, reports on Aitutaki theatrical performances may suggest its identity or identities and settings for its acting. Is it a craftsman’s modern interpretation of Tangaroa, a sea god in Aitutaki? Perhaps from an eminence above a human troupe enacting the journey of Ru-enua, traditional discoverer and first settler of the island, Tangaroa listens to Ru’s invocation to lift the fog long enough for him to see a star to guide him to land. Or does the head represent Ru himself, turning his eyes skyward to look for the star? Much as Polynesians relish comedy, would Ru’s descendants in putting on the play envisage him with blue eyes, blue beard, blue ears, blue nose, and flaxen hair? For Aitutaki, long Christianized, to portray Tangaroa with the blue attributes (light hair often characterizes him) would be no problem. At any rate, the serrated crown, a Western element, makes clear that the head represents a king or paramount chief.

My conjectures derive from three plays that Buck (1927: xxi, 1938*b*: 104–106)

saw in Aitutaki in 1926. However, he mentioned no masks or puppet heads. These plays, based on traditions about leaders of the first three expeditions to settle the island, help to preserve memories of the past and, "being uninfluenced by European stage managers, they interpret the true spirit that moved the old-time voyagers to dare and succeed" (Buck 1927: xxi). On festive occasions, such as Buck's visit, villages put on plays. No village, or group within a village, would perform one about another's ancestor or use another's nonhistorical theme (Buck 1938: 110).

The first expedition led by Ru-enua and the second by Te Erui set out from Havaiki; the third led by Rua-tapu departed from Taputapu-atea, Ra'iatea. Their many adventures provide abundant dramatic material. Now these leaders' descendants are scattered in all villages but groups of direct male descent live in distinct tribes in different villages. In Amuri village, Buck saw Ru's descendants perform "The Voyage of Ru" and Rua's descendants enact "The Fishing Quarrel between Rua-tapu and his Son Kirikava." In Reureu, Te Erui's descendants performed "The Song of Te Erui's Adze Haumapua." Vaipae villagers put on their invention, a men's stilt dance.

Buck described only "The Voyage of Ru" in detail; for the other two he gave snatches of chants and descriptions, and summarized adventures. He did not state the time or place in Amuri where he saw "The Voyage," but it probably was either inside the village assembly house, a modern structure, or in a plaza. In earlier times, each village had a large amusement house, *hare karioi* (Tahitian 'aroi), where it entertained residents and visitors with dances, songs, and indoor games and pastimes. A chief usually built the house to increase his prestige and provide entertainment for his unmarried daughters. The most famous house, built more than fourteen generations ago at Vaitupu village, was completed by a priestly expert, Rahui-pare-kauhatu, whose now forgotten type of headgear is commemorated in his sobriquet (Buck 1927: 37, 90, 92). The sobriquet intrigues one because Aitutaki calls a *pare* any type of headgear from a casual wreath to a formal, feather-covered, sennit skullcap, and Mangaia now calls a mask *pare*. What *kauhatu* means has been forgotten in Aitutaki.

The drama about Ru-enua, with both solo and chorus parts, began with twenty young women marching into Ru's canoe and marking time with paddles to an accompaniment of drums and chants. The canoe, indicated by extended lengths of coconut leaves bound at opposite ends to define bow and stern, was already occupied by Ru's four brothers-in-law serving in the bow as the watch and by Ru in the stern holding the steering paddle and guarding the married women. The maidens were to help populate the new home.

The paddlers' changed tempo revealed a course through unfamiliar waters. Three times an agitated lookout dashed back to report to Ru a new danger ahead—a whirlpool, a great rock, a waterspout. Paddlers halted in terror but renewed their paddling to a seafaring chant when Ru proclaimed, "We shall not die. Am I not Ru, the man who was girdled with the red belt of chieftainship and know the things of the air and the things of the sea!"

The chorus announced the fourth and greatest danger, a mighty storm. Terrified by three days and nights of wind and rain, the crew begged Ru to ask the gods to help. Finally he rose, raised his right hand, and sonorously requested "Tangaroa

i te titi, Tangaroa *i te tata*" to clear the sky enough for him to see a star and get his bearings. The god acceded; the expedition reached land safely.

Buck identified Tangaroa as the sea god of Aitutaki; his informant identified him as more than that, for in explaining the phrases *i te titi*, *i te tata*, literally, "in the this, in the that," he swept his arm the full horizon round and pointed upward, saying "That!" The terms connote immense space, especially that still unknown. Tangaroa's importance to Aitutaki seamen is obvious from Ru's invocation and Te Erui's naming a mast for him. What Tangaroa looked like to Aitutakians is not described, but the puppet head's blonde hair and blue eyes remind one that in Mangaia, Hawaii, and perhaps other islands Tangaroa and his descendants are said to have light hair and skin; Captain Cook and his party were therefore thought by Mangaians to have Tangaroa as an ancestor (Gill 1876: 13; Beckwith 1940: 63). Tangaroa's role in regard to the sea in Aitutaki is significant because of three central Polynesian log head masks which the puppet head somewhat resembles: one represented a Tuamotuan sea god and the other two may have played the role of sea god on occasion.

In the play, Ru-enua wore a ti-leaf kilt faded to a golden color; a cape (another kilt around the shoulders); armlets; leg bands; and a plaited headdress with ti-leaf tips projecting upward. The actor's costume, while picturesque, made the man scarcely distinguishable from the vegetation he wore. Such a costume was discarded after use. Some dancers wore hibiscus-bast kilts and customarily added waist ornaments of colored seeds, shells, or plaited pandanus strips as well as casual head wreaths of flowers, berries, pandanus drupes, fragrant herbs, or even platters, *raurau*, with the central hole enlarged to fit the head (Buck 1927: 85, 86, 90, 91, 167). Ru's kilt and kilt-cape recall those of the Mangarevan actor who wore the log head mask.

Types of drums for the Ru-enua play (if not a large, empty tin can) may have been the traditional true drum, *pahu*, a skin-covered, hollowed-out block of wood, and the wooden slit gong, *tokere*. Another type, *kahara*, usually beaten to signal danger, has, I notice, a narrow slit opening into a large hollow that resembles the back of the puppet head (Buck 1927: 360, 372).

For the play by Te Erui's descendants, Buck quoted only a chant which dancers accompanied with "appropriate gestures." The play, I infer from the title, focused on how Te Erui, after killing some of Ru's descendants, cut a channel with his stone adze through the reef in order to land and settle at Reureu, where his channel later gave Aitutaki "better trading facilities than the other islands of the group except Rarotonga. . . ." His descendants claim that he introduced stone adzes to the island which presumably had used only *Tridacna* shell blades until then. Like Ru, Te Erui and his brother, Matareka, had a difficult voyage, but their trouble was the loss of a mast, improperly named like their canoe, which forced them back to Havaiki to build a new double canoe. By naming the new mast for Tangaroa (the other was for Rongo) they reached Aitutaki safely (Buck 1927: xx, 245-246).

In their play, Rua-tapu's descendants selected an episode about the quarrel between their ancestor and his son, Kirikava, which led to Rua-tapu settling at Amuri. After having visited many islands he had settled at Aitutaki where he introduced the coconut and the native gardenia. He and Kirikava later competed to invent the best fishnet (both are still used). Rua-tapu, with his quickly made

setnet attached to two poles, soon hauled in numerous small fish but refused to share them with his son. Kirikava, after catching many large fish with his tediously made true seine net, in turn refused to share with his father. Rua-tapu angrily moved away. Tradition adds that nearing Amuri he schemed to depose High Chief Taruia and replace him. First he won Taruia's friendship by amusing him with a leaflet hoop that rolled in the wind and a coconut-leaflet canoe. Then, being an able raconteur, he interested Taruia in travel by describing beautiful women in other islands, and agreed to be his guide. Starting out first and purposely capsizing his canoe, Rua-tapu asked Taruia to wait for him. Taruia, eager to get to the women, refused, saying, "I'll meet you in Rarotonga." As he had planned, Rua-tapu returned to Amuri to become its high chief (Buck 1927: xx, 296, 320, 322).

The three plays demonstrate the lively theatrical tradition in Aitutaki and its humor in the modern era. Perhaps not long before 1899 when Cheesman obtained the puppet head, a creative innovator reacted to inspiration from familiarity with foreign puppets, local burlesquing of Caucasian appearance, Western impersonations of Neptune, children's Western dolls, and Western *märchen*—and who can say what else—to carve a large wooden head of a man, fit it with eyes like a European doll, and slit the back as for a *kahara* drum to get a hand into the hollow to work the eyes. (Would that china doll heads had such slits when the eyes that open and shut fall inside and leave blind sockets!) An intact eye apparatus from a broken china doll head may have led someone to carve a small wooden replacement and insert the old eye apparatus or make new eyes. Separate china doll heads that enable one to examine the eyes could also be purchased, but unlike the manipulable heads, they had shoulders to fit on the doll's body. European dolls were not uncommon gifts. Henry (1928: 90–91) mentions an unnamed Russian navigator at an unspecified date giving a Tahitian chiefess two dolls with eyes that opened and closed.

What of foreign puppetry to stimulate Aitutakian and Mangaian carvers of manipulable heads? Cook Islanders working as missionaries in Melanesia probably saw not only tribal masking, as Baessler stated, but tribal puppetry, including heads on sticks. Two other possible stimuli may have been familiarity with Hawaiian enthusiasm for its local puppetry, sparked in 1886 by its use during King Kalakaua's Golden Jubilee for his fiftieth birthday, and at least two famous professional American puppetry troupes that toured the Pacific. Between 1874 and 1876 the Royal Marionettes with Rice's Wooden Minstrels toured the southern hemisphere. In 1883, Edwin G. Deaves, a member of that troupe, set out with his own Deaves Marvelous Manikins (almost any puppet was called a manikin at the time) to visit the Pacific. In 1908, 1909, 1912, and 1914 his troupe again was in the Pacific, sometimes as part of world tours. The troupe performed at such Pacific stands as Hawaii, New Zealand, Samoa, Fiji, Australia, Tasmania, British New Guinea, and Borneo. The younger Deaves, Walter, was largely responsible for the worldwide touring, its frequency, and its success based on innovative programming of both plays and vaudeville acts by his manikins (McPharlin 1949: 188–192, 268–273).

Whatever his sources of inspiration and the roles his painted manipulable head played, the Aitutakian innovator, like the Mangaian, recognized, as did the Manga-revan and Mangaian carvers of wooden head masks, that the distance between spectators and the inanimate actor or the masked human being made finely detailed

workmanship superfluous but demanded exaggerated size, color, and accoutrements to achieve visibility and dramatic effect.

Sometime between December 1929 and April 1930 Mangaia used a wooden marionette representing a gigantic, wide-necked, head of a man during a program honoring Dr. and Mrs. Buck. Probably dismissing the head as outside his specialization on traditional culture, Buck did not mention it or the festival in any publication. My data come from three snapshots he took and labelled (Bishop Museum negatives 14678-14680). What has become of the head I do not know. It appears far more complicated than that from Aitutaki.

The village where the program was held was not stated but may have been in Vaitatei district, for snapshot 14677 was labelled "Feast; the governor of Vaitatei district is principal host (middle)." A snapshot (15686) in a sequence different from the three with the marionette was captioned "Feast; woman decorated for feast at Ivirua; guest with New Guinea drum."

Buck labelled the head a mechanical puppet; his adjective implies that intermediary devices operated this painted head, carved presumably from coconut wood. It is a marionette, operated, as far as is discernible from the snapshots, by two or three devices, namely a looped cord, an internal pole serving perhaps as a spindle, and an external stick either to operate the spindle or serve as a costume accessory. No snapshot showed the rear view, so it is unknown if the head has a slit at the back or if it was operated entirely by external devices. The puppeteer worked on a high stage with a mat stretched below the head to conceal him and his activities.

Following are other data from study of the snapshots.

Number 14679 was labelled "Feast; the mechanical puppet and wooden gongs. Mangaia" (Plate Vb). A small part of the gongs is visible; on its right a man holds a ball-ended baton, on its left a man holds a stick.

An enlargement (Plate VIa) to show the marionette reveals that it has a smooth, polished surface and consists of only a head and neck, the latter substantial and apparently nearly as long as the face itself. A high round headdress (the upper portion is cut off in the snapshot) is either painted with light-colored, inverted triangles and dark-colored triangles, with tips pointing upward, or the wood has been serrated and the two forms of triangles thus created accented by contrasting colors. The intent, doubtless, is to simulate a crown. Around its base over the forehead is a wide, light-colored band of tapa or commercial cloth. Tied over it are two rows of shells with seven or more twisted pendants of the same kind of shells falling nearly to the eyebrows.

Behind a large, modelled ear, visible in the pictures, hangs hair, probably hibiscus bast or finely fringed pandanus or coconut leaflets. From this ear hangs a white cord from which a cowrie shell pendant is missing. Although the other ear is not visible its cowrie shell pendant is visible at the end of a cord.

The large, hollowed-out eyes are cut too deeply and therefore are too shadowed for one to determine whether anything to simulate eyes has been inserted. A bit of shredded leaf or feather on one eye indicates that the face has eyelashes separately attached, and that the eyes are wide open for the pictures. Black eyebrows are either painted on the wood or, more likely, made of black tapa or cloth or feathers. Under each eye, a very irregular semicircle of light-colored tapa or cloth outlines it more clearly.

The cheeks are slightly modelled.

The flat, triangularly-shaped nose has also been modelled. Under it is a long, slanted, light-colored, tapa or cloth moustache in a reverse S-shape. One end reaches lopsidedly and comically up to one eye, the other droops down into the beard. The oval-shaped mouth is set with numerous upper and lower teeth, perhaps cut from shell and inserted in the mouth or carved out in the log and painted a light color.

Under the lower lip a light-colored beard draped from ear to ear looks like an open-ended necklace of fur or hair strung on a band with each open end fastened to an ear.

Visible under the beard is the rounded log from which the head has been carved; here it forms the neck; the head is hollow, at least in part, for a narrower log or pole that I call a spindle emerges from inside it and is marked in the middle with fine grooving. Hanging at one side of the spindle, as if from a cord fastened farther up, is a slender pole with an angled end like a pipestem with a long, narrow bowl, or a thin, footed log, or a round-toed adze haft. Perhaps it is a handle to help work the head or a stage prop, such as an adze, identified with the character whom the head represents. Probably used to manipulate the head in some way is a double-ended, light-colored string that rests on the middle of the spindle and also emerges from between this spindle and the log from which the head was modelled.

Presumably the puppeteer is the man standing beside the head and wearing a wreath of flowers and leaves.

Snapshot 14678 was labelled "Feast; puppet show to amuse guests. Mangaia." An enlargement of the part with the head shows it either before or after a performance (Plate VI*b*). It is on the stage which is raised high above the spectators and partially screened by a patterned mat, perhaps plaited from pandanus, with only the marionette's head visible and the puppeteer not in sight. Spectators stand below, looking up at the head or laughing into the camera.

Number 14680, labelled "Feast; a lady gives a solo dance. Mangaia," shows the head partially obscured on the sidelines at the rear right.

The height of the head cannot be judged except that it seems taller than the average height of the spectators. Its large size and setting on a stage reflect practical and traditional considerations, first, to make the head clearly visible to spectators, and second, to represent, perhaps, some gigantic hero of ancient Mangaia in the early period after the first settlers had left Rarotonga. Traditions, spiced with myth, describe warriors 8-feet to 60-feet tall with spears at least 30-feet long or more. For example, Moke, a 60-foot tall Mangaian, twice defeated invading Rarotongans among whom in the second invasion was a 30-foot tall warrior; the latter and his followers seeing Moke rise from his hiding place in the sea turned their canoes and sailed straight back to Rarotonga (Buck 1934: 40).

Also, craftsmen in pre-European times carved large, freestanding wooden effigies of human beings or, according to tradition, dressed tree stumps to simulate warriors and repel invaders. One effigy was a substitute for a human sacrifice to Rongo, the national god and the Mangaian god of war. It was carved when two tribes, one of them the Manaune, won control of Mangaia, and the Inland High Priest chose Vairoto (Vairota), a Manaune, as the sacrifice required before he and the Shore High Priest could officially declare a Manaune chief as Temporal Lord of the island. However, the Manaune of Karanga district, being reluctant to lose Vairoto, sub-

stituted an effigy at the altar. Believing their deceit successful they made a second effigy of Vairoto to symbolize a Karanga subdistrict. The deception, if true, may have been one of several high-handed Manaune acts leading the Inland Shore Priest to refuse to confirm the Manaune chief, who then served, unconsecrated, as the last Temporal Lord before Christianity was introduced in 1823 (Buck 1934: 40, 128; Gold 1946: 215-216).

Buck has given no clue as to whom the marionette head represented. Considering the richness of early Mangaian talent in dramatic performances, as reported by Gill, it is hard to believe that the marionette was demonstrated merely as a novel, mechanical contraption without an accompanying skit. Did it represent the god Vātea, one of his brothers, one of his sons among whom were Tangaroa and Rongo, a gigantic hero of early Mangaian warfare, or a post-European character? Perhaps someone still recalls or has heard what took place at the feast in 1929 or 1930, and knows the marionette's history.

My impressionistic survey of modern central Polynesian masking and manipulable heads is obviously incomplete but may lead to further investigation of theatrical artifacts and drama in ancient and modern central Polynesia. The creative talent of each carver and composer which in the historical era drew on both indigenous and introduced tools, materials, forms, ornamentation, theatrics, and subject matter to please himself and his audience recalls Archey's statement about the relationship between the innovator and his community: "The aesthetic climate enfolds us; it is a gathering up of our successive experiences, and we would not have it too rudely torn apart by art forms abruptly strange in content and form. He who would innovate successfully will do so within the aura of the familiar; when giving his beholders the interest of novelty he must still maintain the meaning of content and satisfy the community's expectation of form. By hastening slowly he will best bear his part in the socio-aesthetic situation" (Archey 1965: 48).

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